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# AN APPROACH TO WELSH GENEALOGY

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Address delivered at a meeting of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in London on Wednesday, 10th December, 1948, Professor J. GORONWY EDWARDS, F.B.A., M.A., D.LITT., in the Chair.

## I. INTRODUCTORY.

DURING the latter half of the eighteenth century English tourists "discovered" Wales. Nearly all the visitors were people in easy circumstances and alumni of our older universities. It became the fashion to write a book on the Tour in Wales giving topographical details, the customs, dress, habits of the "natives," descriptions of ruined castles, pleasant manor houses, and picturesque cottages. These works are of the greatest importance to the student of social and economic conditions of bygone Wales, and they throw considerable light on the state of its agricultural population before the industrial revolution had affected the traditional life of the country. The impressions formed by these tourists varied a great deal. Some were the precursors of Caradoc Evans, and belaboured the "natives" in no uncertain manner, representing them as a primitive and, indeed, often as a sub-human survival. This led to the formation in England in the early nineteenth century of a "Society for diffusing Useful Knowledge amongst the Welsh." Others were forerunners of A. G. Bradley, who found in the remote towns and vales of Gwalia a homely and dignified people. Whatever the nature of their conclusions, nearly all the visitors noticed one especial characteristic which seems to have been the hall-mark of a Welshman of those days, namely an inordinate love of genealogy and heraldry which permeated all classes.

This national and family pride was noticed by Warner in 1797, and he wrote that the Welsh "seem to have it by hereditary descent from their Celtic forefathers, who thought more highly of themselves, than the polished nations around them conceived they had a right to do." The Reverend John Evans, who lived in one of the polished nation's most polished cities, Bath, wrote in 1804 that the phrase "As long as a Welsh pedigree" was an old proverb. He added, "A Welsh gentleman will climb up by a ladder of his pedigree into princely extraction; and that it may be said, Men are *made heralds in other countries*, but *born so in Wales*." The worthy cleric went into the statistics of Cambrian genealogy and ascertained that up to 1804, the number of Welsh pedigrees registered in the College of Arms came to the startling total of 7,773.

This characteristic had not suddenly come into being and there are evidences of its existence in the early Middle Ages. In this essay an attempt will be made to discuss Welsh genealogical origins



and to trace its development along the ages to our own time. Welsh genealogy has suffered as much from its friends as it has from its critics. Often the Welshman whose pedigree has been criticized has been unable to understand why proofs of descent should be adduced in the support of the long illuminated roll which traces him back to "Noah the first monarch of the World" and to even earlier "ancestors": and often the critic has been equally puzzled to understand the Welshman's childlike belief in a pedigree which consists of nothing but personal names and which is innocent of references, dates, and documentation. It is interesting to observe that many of the champions and detractors of Cymric genealogies have been Englishmen who, possessing a sound knowledge of English history, were sadly lacking in knowledge of the Welsh background. On the one hand we have the sympathetic approach of the late H. J. T. Wood who championed the Welsh pedigree in the pages of *The Ancestor*, and on the other the violent denunciations of Dr. Round, whose ignorance of the Welsh way of life caused him to employ arguments which he would have avoided had he been in full possession of the basic facts. Welsh genealogy cannot be correctly appreciated on its own. It must be examined in its proper background of Welsh literature, land tenure, and social customs. On the other hand, adverse criticism did not always come from Englishmen, for men like Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans and Mr. Edward Owen did not hesitate to use the birch when they considered that they had collared a Welsh genealogical culprit. In order to appreciate the attitude of critics it will be useful to examine the remarks that have been made about Welsh genealogy during the last one hundred years or so.

Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales* are the best-known Welsh pedigrees owing to the fact that they were made available to the public in book form in 1846. The editor, Sir S. R. Meyrick, in a valuable preface, states that the pedigrees, taken on the whole, were extraordinarily accurate, and he adduces several reasons for this.<sup>1</sup> This is especially interesting since Meyrick approached the genealogies in a critical way and exposed a few obvious fabrications. In 1859, Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, who had carried out considerable researches in Wales, published a late seventeenth century manuscript of Welsh pedigrees called *The Dale Castle MS.* Sir Thomas, quite rightly critical, says, "For the accuracy of some of which I cannot vouch, since the extraordinary ignorance of almost all the early Welsh writers as to the proper mode of drawing up a Pedigree is clearly manifest in this MS." He proceeds to further criticisms, lack of dates, etc., and, very properly, pillories certain impudent claims. His conclusion is interesting and he

<sup>1</sup> *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, Vol. I, pp. x, xi, etc. *Vide* p. xiii: "Forgery rarely, if ever, occurred. . . ." Dwnn's work, in manuscript form, was well known to previous scholars, and Wood (*Athen. Oxon.*, Vol. II, p. 798, Bliss' ed.) calls it authoritative.

says, "... But I will do the Author [of *Dale Castle MS.*] the justice to say, that where I have been able to test these descents by original documents, I have generally found them accurate." The late G. T. Clark, of Talygarn, to whom the nation is indebted for several scholarly works, has some interesting remarks to offer in the preface to his *Limbus Patrum Morganicæ et Glamorganicæ* (1886). He states, "The difference between the Celtic and Teutonic races is in nothing more clearly marked than in their treatment of their genealogies. An English pedigree is not considered valid unless each descent is verified, each date of birth, marriage, or death accurately set down, and any connection with a landed estate duly recorded. A Welsh pedigree does not pretend to these accuracies of detail: on the contrary, seems rather to despise them. The absence of surnames, and the continued repetition of a very limited number of Christian names, makes identification difficult. It is but rarely that a date is given or the family estate named, and, although the manuscripts agree in the main, they often differ as to the wives and as to the order and names of the younger children. . . . It seems to have been the custom of bards and genealogists who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to group the pedigrees of their countrymen round the issue of some well-known chieftain or some popular local hero, and thus to connect by ties of common descent the families who dwelt in particular districts. By this means they gained great popularity, and they introduced into the earlier portions of Welsh pedigrees a system which has, no doubt, the merit of simplicity, whatever may be thought of its accuracy." After several other criticisms Clark submits that towards the Tudor period, the pedigrees are authentic especially in North Wales.

In the preface to the second part of the first volume of his *Report on Welsh manuscripts*, Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans takes his stick to the Welsh genealogist. There were certain matters which he found difficult to understand. He was unable to understand why Guttun Owain, a writer of whom he has, professedly, a high opinion, should trace an Elizabethan landlord to "Adam son of God," adding, "It does seem as if reason took its leave of every genealogist sooner or later." Dr. Evans asked why it was that the maternal line of descent was so carefully preserved in Welsh genealogies. He stated confidently that "the answer is simple"—because the *advenae* who married Welsh heiresses and widows, in the excess of their devotion adopted the descent as well as the estates of their Welsh wives! But is this answer as correct as it is "simple?" Had Dr. Evans quoted a single example to support his answer it would have been both to his and our advantage. The conventional pedigrees which traced to "Adam son of God," and "Achau y Mamau" are as well-known to European as to Welsh genealogy, and in another section of this essay they will be considered in detail. The author of the *Report* was also of opinion that no genealogy beyond the third generation from the compiler was reliable. This

statement will also be examined in the light of records actually known to Dr. Evans at the time he wrote his curious denunciation.

Those who have read the essay entitled "The Value of Welsh Pedigrees" in *The Ancestor* (1903) will realize that H. J. T. Wood had fallen in love with his subject. The opening paragraph contains the following statements—"At first sight it is undoubtedly an astounding proposition that an eighteenth century MS. such as the Golden Grove should be a good authority for eleventh and twelfth century pedigrees, yet that there are good *prima facie* reasons for such being the case I hope to show in the present article ; that such is the case can only be proved that with certain exceptions Welsh pedigrees will stand all tests applied to them, and then arguing that if portions of a pedigree derived from one source or common set of sources be proved to be true, the remainder is so . . . a Welshman is satisfied with the mere names of his ancestors, and would rather know his female descents than his collateral relations." Oddly enough there is no manuscript which shows so clearly the importance attached to collateral descents as the Golden Grove manuscript upon which Mr. Wood relied so much. He stated further that the narrative form of pedigrees were "so far as I am aware, peculiar to Welsh genealogy" ; yet a glance at the pedigrees in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in Norse sagas, and in early European historical literature would have shown him that this form of pedigree was common to nearly all European nations.

The judgement of the late Mr. Francis Green of St. Davids, perhaps the most careful and cautious of our modern genealogists, is one that is bound to carry weight in these studies. Mr. Green had devoted much time to checking Welsh pedigrees against public records and legal documents. The results of his studies are found in the *West Wales Historical Records*—a monument to his skill and industry. He found many errors and inconsistencies in genealogies, but his researches permitted him to make the following statement—"First we have the testimony of the Welsh genealogists, and although they are frequently wrong as to details, I have generally found where documents are available to test their statements, that in the main they are correct."<sup>1</sup>

These few examples show that in the last century a critical attitude was beginning to be adopted towards Welsh pedigrees. This was all to the good, and later in this work the value of these and other criticisms will be assessed in light of further evidence. It is significant to note that the scholars who criticized Welsh pedigrees often felt disposed to qualify their criticisms by cautious reservations. The only way to arrive at an accurate estimate of the value of Welsh pedigrees is to apply to them the methods of scientific historical research. The day has passed when a genealogist's work can pass muster by an imposing array of footnotes.

<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, 1902, p. 102.



Such items as Peniarth MS. 130, Mostyn MS. 131, Harleian 132, or Egerton 133, mean absolutely nothing, unless we know something about the value of their contents. When and by whom were they written? What is their comparative value? Are there ways of testing them? Answers to those questions are absolutely essential if we have any desire to arrive at the truth. In the nineteenth century the great Ranke (1795-1886) founded a school of German historians and developed a method which is essential to be adopted if sound histories are to be written. This method consisted of a systematic and impartial analysis of the comparative trustworthiness of all sources of information. It was considered necessary to find out the history of the records themselves, how and where they had originated, in whose custody they had been and how they stood in relation to other independent evidence. Indeed, it was considered necessary in cases where they were not public records, to find out all about their compilers. The history of the scribes, their social standing, their characters, education, and so on had to be carefully examined. If this is necessary in ordinary evidence how much more is it necessary in the treatment of genealogical manuscripts. A study of Welsh genealogists reveals much of their characters and explains certain trends in their records. The attitude of Guttun Owain and Griffith Hiraethog differed in several ways from that of Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate and George Owen of Henllys. Until this research is made into the personal history of Welsh bards and genealogists, whether professional or amateur, we cannot arrive at a just appreciation of their work. It is unnecessary, perhaps, to add that a knowledge is also necessary of the social, economic, and political history of the times of the writers.

The claim of genealogy as a definite section of Welsh historical research is not only unrecognized, but unstated. Genealogy as a subject on its own is valueless, but when studied in relation to the circumstances that produced it, it helps to fill the gaps and to complete the historian's picture of national life. Genealogy is a branch of historical study and it should be examined scientifically by men of scholarship and standing and not allowed to remain the harmless plaything of dilettante squires, parish antiquaries, and maiden aunts. I would like to stress here that Welsh genealogy cannot be made intelligible until the history of the native land tenures and the Anglo-Norman feudal tenures in Wales are thoroughly investigated and understood. This is not so easy as may be imagined when we turn to the tenures in Wales. In England, on the other hand, this study is relatively not so intricate. There the feudal tenure obtained after the Conquest, and there are several fixed points to be found in the national records. The most important of these is "Domesday Book." The Inquest of Service (1212) is another fixed point, and the surveys of the reign of Henry III provide us with several others. In Wales we find certain complications. There we find lands held both by the native tenure

and by the feudal tenure. The landlords were often native Welsh *arglwyddi*, Norman and ecclesiastical barons, and in addition to these we find Crown lands. These fiefs were not always held separately and distinctly by Welsh or by feudal tenure. It is of the greatest importance that the topographical boundaries, the history of the ownership and customs of the cantrefs and commotes and of every knight's fee and manor throughout the whole of Wales, should be established and surveyed. Seebohm was the first to undertake a scientific enquiry into the native tenure, and owing to limitation of material, his great work lacks finality in several important matters. The later researches of Judge T. P. Ellis (mainly from a legal standpoint) were too restricted in their scope to produce decisive answers to the queries raised by Seebohm. The valuable unpublished researches of Mr. Floyd, who, correctly, combined genealogy and landownership, were important contributions to the subject and will be found of great assistance to students of medieval tenures in Wales. The difficulty is the paucity of detailed records which can provide us with fixed points. The few that do exist are too widely dispersed both in time and territory, or are too local in character, to permit a broad national picture being drawn. Certain records like the Survey of the Lordship of Denbigh, the Record of Carnarvon, the Extents of Bromfield and Yale, and the Black Book of St. Davids are of paramount importance, as also are the I.P.M.s and other documents in the Public Record Office. But these lift only a corner of the curtain. What, then, can be done in the matter? It has recently been shown that much can be done within Wales itself. Fortunately our public and college libraries are now being filled with documents, deeds, manorial records, and other evidences from all parts of Wales, and a careful study of these will certainly increase our knowledge. The important essay entitled "The Gafael in Bangor MS. 1939" (*Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.*, 1944) by Professor T. Jones Pierce, is a brilliant example of how local records have made it possible for the complications of the *gafael* to be solved. I would like to mention that the fine collections of medieval deeds in the National Library of Wales will be found to be of the greatest assistance to this study. Sometimes these deeds, relating to certain districts, run in unbroken series, and in the absence of extents and surveys, they may well prove the only means of unveiling many of the mysteries of Welsh medieval economy.

Welsh pedigrees are an important aid to the study of the knight's fee, the manor, and the *gafael*, and it is interesting to note from the works of Judge Ellis that the extents of certain North Wales districts show that lands were held by the family groups as recorded in pedigree manuscripts. The same is true of the many groups shown in the pedigrees of Gwynfardd Dyfed and Cadifor Fawr in West Wales, supported by the records of the Barony of Cemes and other documents now in the National Library; and also of the family



groups of Jestyn ap Gwrgant in Glamorgan, supported by Clark's published *Cartæ* and other South Wales records. A sound grasp of the native and feudal tenures and a knowledge of pedigrees are absolute essentials for a Welsh historian.

When reading Welsh pedigrees we must consider their value, if any, as historical records. To arrive at a fair estimate we must study them in relation to the conditions of the times that produced them. There is no doubt whatsoever that the pedigrees do throw important light on certain aspects of Welsh life, and several examples will be adduced in the body of this essay. It will be shown that much may be learnt of the devolution of properties, and of customs, of the stability of population, of crafts and trades, and also that many of the later pedigrees, when studied in conjunction with public records, and particularly wills, help to fill gaps in parish registers and other local records. Great care has to be observed in sifting the grain from the chaff. The student must know when he is dealing with conventional pedigrees and "common form," and to recognize the echo, often very faint, of genuine tradition. An example may be taken from a pedigree in the Dale Castle MS., which states that "Llyw Hên was in the warrs at Aberconwy, with Julius Caesar, & Governour of his Army." This obviously exaggerated statement is summarily dismissed by Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill as an "amusing and ridiculous story." The claim of descent may perhaps be "amusing and ridiculous," but a study of the Roman occupation admits of the possibility of a British notable commanding native levies having been employed in some of the Roman expeditions within Britain. My point is, that such statements should not be condemned before examining them in relation to the conditions of the times in which they were originally cast, and this I regard as a fundamental axiom of genealogical study. To separate fact from fiction, the possible from the impossible, must be one of the chief aims of modern genealogists. The difficulties relating to the recognition of the conventional and the factual in pedigrees will be indicated in the following pages.

It has been found possible to divide the history of Welsh genealogy into fairly distinct periods of time, although a certain overlap is inevitable. In the early period, up to 1450, I have been guided by the researches of the late Sir John Lloyd, Mr. Phillimore, and Mr. Floyd, and by the works of the Revds. Baring Gould, J. Fisher, and W. J. Rees, and particularly by Professor Chadwick's *Growth of Literature*. In addition, the ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales provided important evidence as also did early Welsh literature, and historical works like the Bruts, Nennius' History, etc. The quantity of Welsh genealogical material for this early period is small, but its quality is high, and it has been possible often to assess the value of the pedigrees themselves. The early pedigrees fall into two classes—(1) The Royal Pedigrees, which concern ruling houses, and

(2) Pedigrees of the Saints, who were often closely connected with royalty. The scribal presentation of these pedigrees takes two forms—the catalogue form, that is, a list of names in a column, beginning with a particular person (perhaps then living), and then reading downwards until the ultimate ancestor was reached; and the narrative form, which reads as normal sentences, being a string of Christian names connected by the word *map* (son of) or its contraction, *m*.

The latter part of the early period is disappointing in the yield of purely genealogical material, and few manuscripts of such a nature have survived. However the period was rich in poetry, and in these poems we have valuable genealogical evidence of an authoritative nature where it is contemporary. Some striking examples of these have survived in the *cywyddau moliant* and the *marwnadau* which also contain valuable evidence relating to social, economic, and political history. Public records, and other evidences of this period, often render it possible to test the accuracy of the pedigrees. The scribal form of the genealogies of this later period take (1) the poem form, and (2) the narrative form.

I have called the next period (1450 to 1600), The Golden Age, and feel that I am justified in so doing. It divides itself into two parts, from 1450 to the Act of Union, and thence to 1600. The first part shows the purely Welsh genealogical tradition being developed at its best. Based on the native language and genius, and nursed by the *bonheddig* and the religious houses, it produced a great poetical literature. These were the halcyon days of the bard Lewis Glyn Cothi whose poems are resplendent with blazonry and pedigree, of Gwilym Tew, Guttun Owain, and Ieuan Brechfa. We also see the English influence and the authority of the College of Arms beginning to assert itself. But the native genealogical and heraldic spirit is still Welsh, and the Tudors had not yet disturbed its roots although they had lightly touched its branches. The second part of the Golden Age shows a definite orientation of genealogical thought towards England. The outstanding genealogist of this period was Griffith Hiraethog who dominated pedigree and heraldic practice. Other able genealogists, some of them actual pupils of old Griffith, were William Llyn, William Cynwal, and Simwnt Fychan. To this period also belongs Lewis Dwnn perhaps the most interesting of them all. Great tomes, many over eight hundred folios, were frequently compiled, and never since (with one exception) have the like been seen in Wales. But with the close of the Golden Age the sun had set.

A change was made in the scribal presentation of the pedigrees. At the beginning of the Golden Age these were written in Welsh in narrative or sentence form, and this was carried on in part by the school of Griffith Hiraethog. In the latter part of the century we find the chart or tabular pedigree superseding the old narrative form.

Lewis Dwnn, for instance, represents the transition since he employs both the old traditional form, and the new chart form which was the practice of the English heralds. Several other manuscripts show this transition of style by presenting pedigrees in Welsh narrative form but with marginal links of a tabular nature. We also see the introduction of the "race-horse" pedigree which reads across the page from left to right. Another form that makes its appearance is the "Wyth Ran Rhieni," which is presented in a way similar to that of the European *seize-quartiers*. Coats of arms had hitherto been blazoned in Welsh in sentence form, but in the latter half of the century coloured shields of arms appeared in the charts, either above or below the names of their owners. One very good result followed the adoption of the chart pedigree. The old pedigrees rarely showed the younger children. Normally they described agnatic descents in the main line only, together with *achau y mamau* (a great feature of the Golden Age genealogy). But with the coming of the chart pedigree, not only were younger sons and daughters shown but also their marriages and descendants. The chart pedigree demanded much more paper, but as that commodity was becoming more easily available during the sixteenth century, economy of space was no longer a prime consideration.

During the seventeenth century several political and economic influences affected British life. The redistribution of property in the early part of the century which partly contributed to the Civil Wars, and a further redistribution of property between 1680 to 1750, both had a peculiar effect on the genealogy as well as the economy of Wales. The first led to the consolidation of estates and changed the Welsh *bonheddig* into an English squire. The second saw a reduction of the smaller Welsh freeholder and the rise of a militant Nonconformity, which was to preserve the language of Dafydd ap Gwilym and Griffith Hiraethog. This century saw the establishment of a class we call *gwerin*, which was practically unknown in olden Wales.<sup>1</sup> A few bards continued to practise, but the old fire was gone. The bards themselves were also of an inferior breeding. The Laws had laid down that bardism was a profession for the free tribesmen, although under certain conditions some of the non-*bonheddig* could acquire bardic status. Some of the earlier bards, like Llywarch Hen, were related to the ruling princes, while those of later days like Dafydd ap Gwilym and Iolo Goch were members of powerful landowning families. Several of the gentry had also been able genealogists and armorists such as John Trevor, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, George Owen of Henllys,

<sup>1</sup> In old Wales there were two main classes—the royal families, and the *bonheddig* a vast network of free tribesmen based on blood and which composed the great majority of the nation. The bondmen and slaves were too insignificant, it would appear, to have formed a large numerical class. In the new *gwerin* of the seventeenth century was found a very high percentage of depressed or dispossessed minor *bonheddig*.



Rhys Meyrick of Cotterel, and Lewis Dwnn. But what had formerly been the professional studies of the bards and part of the education of the *bonheddig* (genealogy and heraldry formed part of the twenty-four *campau*), now became the preserve of the gentry, but as a hobby rather than as a serious study.

Thus in this century the genealogical tradition was carried on by a few of the gentry. Most of the pedigrees of the period are in chart form and written in English, although some manuscripts retained the narrative form of earlier days. We also find the target pedigree, which is a circular pedigree drawn in a series of circles, which resemble the rifle range target familiar to those who have been under arms. Few of these appear to have been made, but most of those that have survived have been beautifully executed.<sup>1</sup> Another type of pedigree popularized in this century is the parchment or vellum roll, sometimes over thirty feet long, which gives the agnatic descent together with the marriages. This kind of roll, which is a characteristic English type, has usually very beautifully emblazoned shields, while some have cherubs' heads, human figures, and fine coloured scroll work.

In this century a large number of Welsh pedigrees are also found in English visitations, as far afield as Northumberland, Devon, and London. These were Welsh people who had settled in England during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The interesting point about these pedigrees is that they are very long and detailed. This argues that Welshmen who emigrated to England must have taken certain family records and genealogies with them. It is an interesting side-light on the attachment of those of Welsh blood to their genealogy even when living far from their ancestral abodes.

The eighteenth century produced a new literature in Wales, that of the *gwerin* which was completely out of sympathy with the tradition of the *uchelwyr*. It is the most barren period in Welsh genealogical history. It produced many good antiquaries but no outstanding genealogist.

The nineteenth century witnessed a resurgence of interest in genealogical studies. There were several reasons for this. The industrial revolution led to the rise of new families, who set up as country gentlemen. Having acquired title-deeds they looked around for pedigrees and arms, and there were those who were prepared to supply both. A wave of romantic learning swept the land, its high priest being Sir Walter Scott, whose books were responsible for many a hoary legend that became "family tradition." The useful publications of Burke brought pedigrees before a wide public for the first time and a certain competition for "ancestry"

<sup>1</sup> For an account of target pedigrees, with photographic reproductions, see Mr. Hemp's essay in *Y Cymmrodor* (1929). Commenting on Welsh target pedigrees, the antiquary Humphrey Wanley wrote: it was "a fancy often used by the Welsh bards or heralds."

set in. It was the period which set up a fashion in sham antiques and castellated residences, when honest Mr. Wilkins adopted the name of his "ancestor" de Winton, and the long-descended Mr. Jones deigned to become a Herbert once again. It was the period when the ancient names of our houses were "dignified" by the addition of Park, House, Abbey, and Hall.

Antiquarian learning spread to all corners of the land. The works of Iolo Morganwg and William Owen-Pughe, and societies like the Cymmrodorion and the Cambrians became popular overnight. By the middle of the century the *gwerin* as well as the *bonheddig* was busy once more at pedigrees and heraldry. In North Wales, the columns of *Y Brython* presented genealogies of county families written by a tenant farmer, while in South Wales the columns of *The Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph* contained a series of weekly essays on the leading families from the pen of a humble scrivener. Among the genealogists of this period, the squire of Peniarth, Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, stands pre-eminent. Many others published genealogical works and collected manuscripts and saved them from total loss. A more critical attitude was adopted, and proofs and evidences were sought to support or refute the ancient pedigrees.

This brief introduction will, I trust, serve to give an idea of the field of research that awaits students of Welsh genealogy. Even if our attitude towards the subject is a hostile one, we cannot dismiss all the traditions as so many old wives' tales. They are often too widespread, persistent, and indeed consistent, not to have some factual origin.

## II. EARLY TIMES.

### (a) To 1282.

Although but few Welsh genealogical records have survived from the early period, there are a large number of incidental evidences which indicate the genealogical industry of our Celtic forebears. However, to discuss these evidences out of their context is to court disaster, and such a treatment of the subject will inevitably lead to unsound conclusions. Thus, in order to understand the real significance of these early references it is necessary to make a survey of Welsh political, economic, and literary history in order to establish genealogy in relation to the national life, and also to refer, for comparative purposes, to the development of other nations, who, in one way and another, influenced Welsh thought. Professor Chadwick has already shown by his comparative treatment of early literatures how much light can be thrown on origin and early development, while the work of the late Dr. Miall Edwards has demonstrated the importance of the same method in the treatment of world religions. It is not my intention, and neither is it within the compass of a short essay, to make an exhaustive examination of the



subject or to test the accuracy of all the evidence that will be called. Rather, it is my intention to make a survey of Welsh genealogical material, and to indicate methods which appear (to me, at least) to be those that can be applied profitably to a critical study of this subject.

Since the earliest undoubted evidence of Welsh genealogy is found in the time of the Roman occupation, we shall commence our survey from that period, although efforts have been made to connect Welsh national and tribal origins with a more remote period. Before the arrival of the legions of Rome the country was inhabited by tribes, mainly Celtic in origin, organized into family groups based on blood relationship, and owning the overlordship of local families, who in turn appear to have operated (at least for war) under the sovereignty of a supreme head. To what extent these early people believed that they derived from a common forefather is unknown, but it is possible that they may have claimed descent from a Celtic protonym. At least, genealogies were not unknown to the Britons of pre-Roman days, and we find that this is supported by Tacitus, the greatest Roman historian of those times. Caractacus, in his address before the tribunal at Rome in A.D. 52, referred to his innate nobility as being a well-established truth, and placed the fact of his being the descendant of a glorious line of ancestors before the secondary consideration that he was the military overlord of Britons. However, it is to be remembered that a boast of illustrious descent was a practice of all early peoples, and parallels are found in Greek, Roman, Hebrew, and Egyptian history. The earliest Latin martyrologies referring to Claudia, daughter of the captured Caractacus, and her children who were canonized, described them as being *illustrissimo origine*. The desire to associate saints with the temporal power appears at a later stage to have been Church policy. An echo of ancient pagan practice of members of families acting as priests, may perhaps also be detected in the association of saint and ruler.

The social and economic structure of that part of Britain occupied by the Romans probably remained tribal, the real power being in the hands of the conquerors. Several Roman names and Latin words were adopted by the Britons, and are found in the early genealogies, e.g. Emrys (Ambrosius), Edern (Æternus), Aircol (Agricola), Tegid (Tacitus), and Dunod (Donatus). The spread of Christianity had the effect of popularizing further Latin forms. The main structure of economic life—the Brythonic aristocracy superimposed upon the Goidelic tribes, partly Celtic and Aryan in origin, and partly aboriginal—seems to have been allowed to develop peacefully under the occupation.

Early in the fifth century most of the Roman troops left Britain, but the influence of nearly four hundred years of occupation was not totally eradicated and very positive examples of its enduring

influence are to be found in the early Welsh pedigrees. Shortly after the legions had departed, a further invader arrived who was to remain as a permanent and dominant settler in these islands. The Anglo-Saxons, after a long and bloody war of some centuries, destroyed the British entity, and the British people became known generically as Welsh. It is during this period of contracting frontiers that we first find definite examples of Welsh genealogy, and in those examples are traces of ancestors who ruled in the north of England before the final expulsion. The end of the fifth and the whole of the sixth century comprised the British Heroic Age, the period in which the lives of Arthur, Urien Rheged, Voteporix of Dyfed, and other heroes were cast. It was the age of the *gwledig*, the princes and the great war lords. From this time onwards, Welsh history follows a fixed pattern—the rule and wars of its princes—sometimes internecine struggles and sometimes wars against the English enemy. These kings and princes dominated the history of Wales, and they are the central theme in all the early records.

In the tenth century the code popularly called the Laws of Howel Dda is an important landmark, and it gives a picture of the social, economic, and legal structure of the country, and, to a lesser degree of completeness, the constitutional framework.<sup>1</sup> These laws show that in the tenth century the Welsh life was still tribal, and all rights depended upon blood relationship. The whole community was an aggregate of tribes and family groups (*llwythau*) of freeholders forming a ruling aristocracy, while beneath the *llwythau* came other groups of non-free status. The form of government was monarchical, and the country was divided into cantreds and commotes, where various rulers known indifferently as kings, princes, and lords (*brenhinoedd*, *tywysogion*, and *arglwyddi*) had power. The ruler of Gwynedd came to be regarded as the nominal head of these rulers, but the allegedly subordinate kings like those of Powys, Ceredigion, Deheubarth, Dyfed, etc., in practice acted like totally independent rulers. The most significant feature of all was the blood connection based on the family group. The royal class consisted of men belonging to families or kindreds (*cenhedloedd*) who had special privileges. The next class consisted of the *uchelwyr*, *breyr*, and *gwyrrda*, who may have been perhaps the equivalent of the *nobiliores* and *optimates*: this was also based on blood relationship, but the class does not appear to have been very clearly defined, and it is sometimes identified with the next class, the *bonheddig*. The *bonheddig* formed the majority of the nation, and was composed of the "innate tribesmen," and with the royal class also formed the backbone of Welsh genealogies. Next came the *taeogion* or *eilltion*

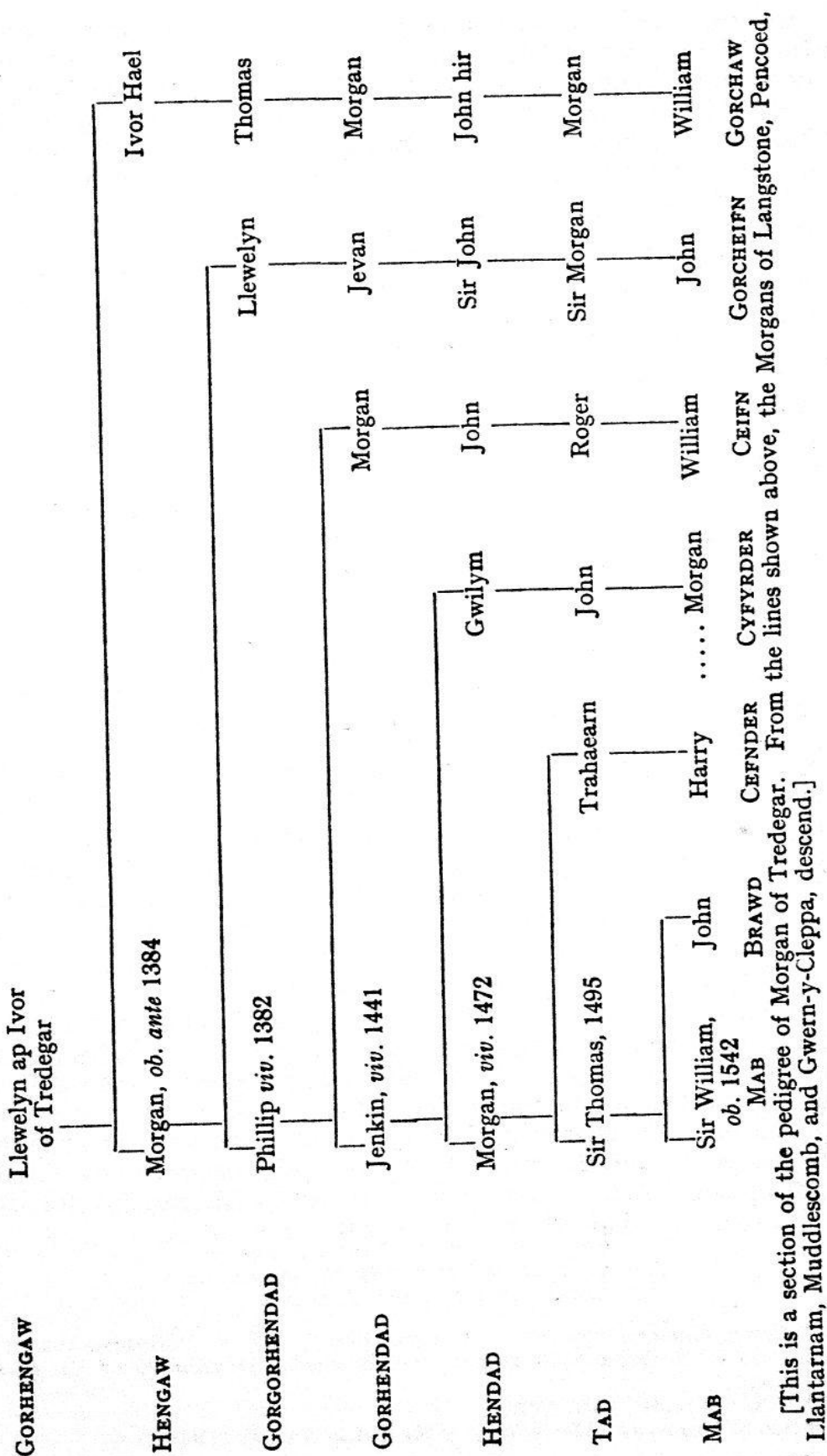
<sup>1</sup> See J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*; J. Rhys and D. Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People*; T. P. Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom*; A. W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Mediaeval Law*; S. J. Williams and J. E. Powell, *Llyfr Blegywryd*.

(*nativi* or *villani*), while lowest of all came a slave class—*caethion*, who were mainly domestic servants and the absolute property of their masters. The unfree class was numerically small. The bulk of the nation was made up of *bonheddig*—the free tribesmen, and although there are no figures available it is believed that the *bonheddig* formed at least 75 per cent of the population. The wars against the English and Normans were fought by the *bonheddig* under the leadership of the royal families, for the unfree were not permitted to fight. The "Domesday Book" shows that only a small proportion of the English people were of free status. According to the evidence at our disposal it is clear that among the Welsh the opposite was the case.

The word *bonheddig* means, literally, a man with a pedigree, and under the Welsh law, unless a man had a pedigree, he was socially, politically, and economically, a nobody. The land was held by the family groups, and only blood members of these groups could be freemen and freeholders. To what extent the Welsh princes were regarded as the ultimate owners of the soil is unknown. In England the nobles were not landlords in the modern sense; they held land under contract from the Crown. Under Welsh ownership the freeholders within the tribe were under common obligations, and certain services due to the ruling houses were attached to land ownership. The law of primogeniture did not obtain, and on the death of a freeholder his lands were divided among his sons, and again subdivided among the sons of the sons, and so on. Welsh women had no rights of property until 1283, when the Statute of Rhuddlan enacted that women should inherit under gavelkind on failure of heirs male. Certain fines could also be levied on family groups. Thus, in the case of *galanas* (composition for culpable homicide) the fine was levied on the murderer's group based on the descent from a common ancestor in the seventh degree (see chart A), and before it could be levied and collected it was necessary to discover who were liable to bear the fine. In other words, the family pedigree had to be produced. This rendered the keeping of family trees a matter of legal necessity, since they gave to the Welshman his rights and privileges and were the title-deeds to his property. The possession of a pedigree under Welsh law was an economic and social necessity, and its accuracy a matter of prime importance. It was difficult to forge pedigrees since they were being constantly put to legal test in cases of *galanas*, *sarhaad*, and *gavelkind*. In fact, local pedigrees were as well known to Welsh tribesmen as the pedigree of the Royal Family is to us to-day. The Welsh pedigree was public property, and it was accurate simply because it had to be accurate. It will be appreciated that this tribal aristocracy of blood led to some exclusiveness. Marriages within the tribe were encouraged since it was of economic advantage. Such marriages kept the dowry, usually cattle, in the tribal group which had joint interest in the land and herds. In a pastoral and agricultural community

CHART A.

## PEDIGREE FOR PURPOSES OF GALANAS, WITH TERMS OF KINSHIP.





inter-marriage was an arrangement of great economic advantage. In addition a free Welshman had to be of pure Welsh descent on both his parents' sides. The old proverb "Dwydd o wng, galanas o bell" is an echo of this maintenance and preservation of the tribal blood connection. This was especially strong in the days of Giraldus, who stated: "The crime of incest hath so much prevailed, not only among the higher, but among the lower orders of this people, that not having the fear of God before their eyes, they are not ashamed of inter-marrying with their relations, even in the third degree of consanguinity. They generally abuse these dispensations with a view of appeasing those enmities which so often subsist between them . . . and from their love of high descent, which they so ardently affect and covet, they unite themselves to their own people, refusing to inter-marry with strangers, and arrogantly presuming on their own superiority of blood and family."<sup>1</sup> We shall see later how these words are supported by ecclesiastical records.

The Welsh were naturally proud of the descent that gave them their privileges, and this was as evident in the days of Giraldus as it had been in the days when Caractacus paraded his pedigree in imperial Rome. Giraldus has many interesting remarks to offer on this head, and wrote, "The Welsh esteem noble birth and generous descent above all things, and are, therefore, more desirous of marrying into noble than rich families. Even the common people retain their genealogy, and can, not only readily recount the names of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but can refer back to the sixth or seventh generations, or beyond them. . . . Being particularly attached to family descent, they revenge with vehemence the injuries which may tend to the disgrace of their blood; and being naturally of a vindictive and passionate disposition, they are ever ready to avenge not only recent but ancient affronts."<sup>2</sup> By "common people" Giraldus could only mean the non-royal Welsh families, that is the *bonheddig*. Precisely similar characteristics are found in early Irish social structure.<sup>3</sup>

It will be appreciated that the tenure of gavelkind was likely to occasion much strife between families and also to reduce the size of individual holdings. The significance of being a *bonheddig* did not lie in wealth, but in the membership of a family group which gave protection and assured rights. It is important that this fact should be borne in mind, since it was entirely opposite to the English conception which is neatly summed up in the much later jingle:—

A Knight of Cales, a squire of Wales,  
And a laird of the North Countree,  
A Yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent  
Could buy them out all three.

<sup>1</sup> *Descr. Cambr.*, cap. vi. Cf. *Itin.*, lib. I, cap. i. Giraldus uses the term incest in its ecclesiastical sense. See Benham, *Dictionary of Religion*, under Marriage.

<sup>2</sup> *Descr. Cambr.*, cap. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> See O'Donovan, *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* (1849).



Gavelkind, however, led to the degradation of branches of the family groups, and examples will be given later of actual *bonheddig* whose economic status was that of ploughmen and labourers, but who clung to their pedigrees with a mournful tenacity which is unintelligible to those unacquainted with the Welsh economic background. A Welsh historian sums up the tenure as follows: "This Custom of *Gavelkind* has been the occasion of the Ruin and Diminution of the Estates of all the antient Nobility in *Wales*; which being endlessly divided between the several Sons of the same Family, were at length reduced to nothing. From hence also proceeded several unnatural Wars and Disturbances between Brothers; who being either not satisfied with their Portions, or displeased with the Country they were to possess, disputed their Right by Dint of the Sword."<sup>1</sup>

No pedigrees of the *bonheddig* prior to 1282 have survived, but that there were such pedigrees and that their owners derived pride and comfort as well as benefit from them is clear from the Welsh Laws and from Giraldus' very definite statement. However, several examples of the pedigrees of the ruling houses and of the saints have survived, and it is now proposed to review this evidence.

There are two reasons for the survival of the royal pedigrees. The first is, that they were necessary to establish the right to rule. The second is, that the lives of members of the royal families formed the backbone of all early written histories. It was the conventional method of recording early national history, and the Welsh Bruts show that the dynastic genealogies dominate the whole narrative. The same style is shown in the Biblical history, where, in its codex form, the genealogies are given in narrative style, while at a later period in the Middle Ages, Biblical history was presented with linear pedigrees of the kings, judges, prophets, etc., that of our Lord being the main central line.<sup>2</sup> A further reason for the preservation of the princely genealogies is that all early Welsh literature is written around the princes and the great ruling families. Mentioned in early poems, triads, and the *Mabinogi*, etc., the history of these rulers was made common property and kept alive in the popular mind. Giraldus adduces examples of princely pedigrees and explains exactly how these early genealogies were kept, and wrote: "It is worthy of remark that the Welsh bards and singers, or reciters, have the genealogies of the aforesaid princes, written in the Welsh language, in their ancient and authentic books: and also retain them in their memory from Roderic the Great to B.M.; and from thence to

<sup>1</sup> *History of Wales*, ed. Wynne (1697), p. 22. Under gavelkind the youngest son inherited the father's homestead. The tenure was not exclusively Welsh, and is found in early tribal organizations on the Continent. It became customary law in certain parts of England, e.g. Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Sussex, Suffolk, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For the genealogical format of early MS. Bibles, including Welsh ones, see *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* (1942) by Thomas Jones, M.A.

Sylvius, Ascanius, and Æneas; and from the latter produce the genealogical series in a lineal descent, even to Adam."<sup>1</sup> This shows that the early medieval bards kept *written pedigree records*. However, none of their "ancient and authentic books" have survived. What has survived has come to us as the result of the labours of the Celtic monks, who doubtless obtained their information from the bards. The bards were important members of the old Welsh households, and much information has survived relating to them. They formed a learned profession, and the poems of the period suggest that some of them were men of letters, although much of their learning was obviously common form. There were grades of bards, and the laws show that they were a respected body holding definite privileges. The earliest have been given the name of Cynfeirdd (sixth and early seventh centuries), and were the product of the Heroic Age. We know only the names of a few—Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, and Taliesin, and, unless he was entirely legendary, the name of Myrddin may also be added. Giraldus mentions Merlin as a prophet, and states that "the memory of his prophecies are preserved by the British bards, as they call their poets, orally among very many, but in writing among very few." He stated that he had found one of these ancient books in a remote part of Lleyrn in Carnarvonshire, and complained that the bards had added their own "prophecies" to the originals.<sup>2</sup> Only men of good family could become bards, and the laws are careful to indicate who may and who may not attain to that dignity. Indeed some were members of royal families and Llywarch Hen was a cousin of the prince Urien Rheged of North England. Apart from writing the poems the bards also sang and recited them to their patrons, and several references are found to this in the works of Taliesin. The laws state that when the king wished to hear the *pencerdd*, the latter was to recite or sing poems of a religious nature, and also poems about the princes. He was also to chant a poem called "Unbeniaeth Prydein" before the warband in the day of battle. Much information relating to the history of Wales may be derived from these early poems, and their treatment by Professor Sir Ifor Williams indicates how much material may be derived from a scientific study of the verses. It is noteworthy that the Cynfeirdd do not refer to genealogy, and they give only two names to the subjects of their poems, e.g. Geraint ab Erbin; while there are a few references to earlier heroes who may, or may not, have been ancestors of their patrons. As mentioned above, the poems of only three of the Cynfeirdd have survived, but there is no doubt that there were many bardic practitioners. We find incidental references to some of them. Thus, St. Beuno is stated to have raised seven men from the dead, among them being Dyngad vardd (Harl. MS. 3325, f. 145a). The next great period of bardic industry is the twelfth century, a notable period in Welsh

<sup>1</sup> *Descr. Cambr.*, cap. III.

<sup>2</sup> *De Vaticiniis*, Vol. V, p. 401.

literary history. The Gogynfeirdd, as they are called, flourished from about 1100 to about 1350–1400. The works of some fifty-eight have survived, and there are doubtless many others. Up to 1282 they wrote mainly in praise of the princes, and afterwards of the *arglwyddi* and *uchelwyr*. They were nearly all men of worshipful descent. Thus Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd was a prince who succeeded his father in 1169, an illustrious bard and warrior; and Owain Cyfeiliog, great-grandson of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, was another princely-bard. Dafydd ap Gwilym was descended from the royal family of Dyfed, from Prince Gwynfardd and Gwrwared Gerdd Gynil whose names suggest that they also had known the measure of *cynghanedd* and the magic of the harp. Sometimes bardism became an hereditary craft, and we have one example of three generations being bards, e.g. Meilir ap Gwalchmai ap Meilir o Fôn. It is important to note that genealogy is not found in their compositions, and that their references to ancestors are only casual ones. While the Cynfeirdd used only one or two names of their patrons, the Gogynfeirdd normally used three names in the rubrics and also sometimes included them in the body of the poems, e.g. "I Owen Vychan ap Mad' ap Maredd'." Several poems were written to the family of Penmynydd, Anglesey, but no ancestor was mentioned. The genealogical motif had not yet entered the poetry.

The chief evidences relating to the early period are contained in the histories, the works of the bards, religious works, literature such as the Mabinogi, and the laws.

To these may be added certain archaeological evidence that assists in determining the dates of certain *arglwyddi*, particularly the Pillar of Eliseg, which speaks with no uncertain genealogical tongue. The earliest known triads,<sup>1</sup> apart from recording certain events and the names of early heroes and mythical eponymoi, have no purely genealogical content. It is now proposed to make a brief review of these contemporary and near-contemporary records, and it is hoped that a complete and detailed examination of them from the genealogical angle will some day be considered worthy of the attention of Welsh scholars. The only scientific investigations made of early Welsh pedigrees are those of Mr. Egerton Phillimore,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Arthur Jones,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Anscombe,<sup>4</sup> and Professors Sir Ifor Williams and H. M. Chadwick, to whom we have previously referred. The approach of the last named two gentlemen to the question is especially interesting. Professor Chadwick approaches the early pedigrees from a literary standpoint with remarkable results.

<sup>1</sup> See *B.B.C.S.*, Vol. XII, for an important dissertation on the earliest known collection of triads (thirteenth century) by Miss Rachel Bromwich.

<sup>2</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, 1880 (Harl. MS. 3859) and *Y Cymmrodor* (Jesus Coll. MS. 20).

<sup>3</sup> *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* (1910).

<sup>4</sup> *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*, ed. Stokes and Meyer (1900).



Sir Ifor assists in their examination by applying the laws of etymology and philology to the early trees, and his valuable prefaces are outstanding contributions to the study. His brief but brilliant essay on "Moliant Dinbych Penfro" (*Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.*, 1940) indicates the assistance that Welsh genealogists (and historians, generally) may expect from an examination of sources from this particular standpoint. It should be noted that the conclusions of these distinguished scholars are favourable as to the authenticity of the early pedigrees.

The *Historia Brittonum* by Nennius was written in the early part of the seventh century, but its earliest preserved form is that which is contained in a Vatican manuscript copied and edited by Mark the Hermit, who is said to have been a bishop in Britain. It contains much that is of genealogical interest, and we are able to trace to its influence several characteristics found in Welsh pedigrees of later periods. Nennius shows a sense of historical continuity that is evident in all the works of medieval writers who had received their education in the cloisters of the Church. He derives the descent of the Welsh from Brutus, who in turn is traced to Roman and Greek origins, and states: "I have learned another account of this Brutus from the ancient books of our ancestors."<sup>1</sup> The tracing of racial and family origins to a conqueror is a familiar phenomenon in medieval histories, and has remained a characteristic of Welsh genealogies down to the present day. Numerous examples are found of early pedigrees claiming descent from Roman consuls and emperors. There are two main reasons for this—one, as already indicated, is the desire to trace to a conquering *advenae*, and the second is the desire to be associated with the race that had been the ruling power in these islands for some four centuries. Nennius also records another genealogical phenomenon, which was faithfully preserved in Welsh genealogies down to Stuart times, namely the descent from Adam, e.g. Alanus is traced back through Biblical figures to "Adam [who] was formed by the living God" (*Adam filius et plasmatio dei vivi*). The tracing of national and tribal pedigrees to Adam is also found in Irish and English pedigrees.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this is that the antiquarian speculators used the Biblical descents

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that this seventh century historian speaks of Welsh MS. books that even then were considered "ancient." That there were such early writings in existence is a proven fact; cf. "Moliant Dinbych Penfro," a poem belonging to the ninth century, which refers to a MS. ("yscriuen Prydein") carefully preserved in a cell at Tenby. Giraldus' references to such written works have already been noted.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Saxon genealogies which trace to Woden, thence to Noah, thence to Adam, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The following pedigrees are comparable since they also trace to deities and "the first man"—the Spanish royal pedigree tracing to Adam; Italian pedigrees to Æneas; German pedigrees to Wiston; and the French and Turks to the Thracian eponymoi. The Norse families traced to Odin, and their pedigrees, like the Welsh ones, consist of a long recital of personal names (see *Viking Age*, Vol. I, pp. 66-8). Scots pedigrees were also of a great length.

to bridge the gap that existed in the British history prior to the Roman conquest. The traditions of the early ages were but dimly known to the early writers, and under the influence of Christianity they filled the gap in their knowledge with the detailed pedigrees found in Holy Writ. There are indications that the Christian religion had superseded an earlier native speculation as to origins. This early speculation undoubtedly embraced a descent from heathen gods of the Brythons and Goidels, but it would appear that by the sixth century the Church influence had long caused the abandonment of the pagan deities in favour of the Biblical prophets. The form, as far as early Welsh pedigrees were concerned, was (a) tracing the pedigree from Adam, based on the Bible, to the Roman occupiers of Britain, and (b) from the Romans to the native Britons. It is important to note that while Latin personal names occur very frequently in the early parts of the genealogies, particularly for persons born in the fourth and the early part of the fifth centuries, from that period onwards they become less common, as the native Welsh stock comes into its own again as the ruling power. This departure from Roman to British names after about A.D. 450-500 is, of course, compatible with the time of the weakening of the Roman influence in these islands. There can be no doubt that there was intermarriage between the Romans and the Britons, and that certain families are in fact descended from Roman ancestors, but whether it was as exalted as the pedigrees claim is another matter. The pedigrees are derived from genuine traditions for a number of generations, but the earlier origins are supplied by speculation relating to mythical eponymoi in the first instance, to be displaced later by Biblical figures. As the early histories are the chronicles of kings, heroes, and chieftains, their pedigrees form the framework, and this genealogical method of presenting history, and indeed the Christian religion itself, continued to be a popular convention until the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup>

We find that the families, in the early pedigrees of all nations, are traced to illustrious ancestors. However, Nennius records one striking exception. The tale is, that a tyrannical British king called Benlli meted out some abominable treatment to St. Germanus. The holy man, however, was hospitably treated by one of the king's servants. As a result, the tyrant and his castle were destroyed, while the hospitable menial was miraculously preserved. He was converted to Christianity by the saint who blessed him saying: "A king shall not be wanting of thy seed for ever, from henceforth thou shalt be a king all the days of thy life. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the Psalmist—'He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the needy out of the dunghill.'" And agreeably to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B.M. Add. MS. 14919, which gives secular British history in three parallel genealogical lines: "llin y twysogion," "llin y brenhinedd," and "llin y Saeson." See also T. Jones, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*.



the prediction of St. Germanus, from a servant he became a king ; all his sons were kings, and, from their offspring, the whole country of Powys has been governed to this day." The Church influence is, of course, quite clear here, but it is difficult to understand why the house of Powys is traced to non-royal origin. It is interesting to note that the early genealogies do not give any previous ancestry to Cadell Deyrnllwg as this fortunate menial was named. Professor Chadwick seems to think that there is an element of truth in this story of his origin.<sup>1</sup>

Nennius records the name of one who appears frequently in early Welsh pedigrees. He states that Julius Caesar fought against "the proconsul of the British king, who was called Belinus, and who was the son of Minocannus, who governed all the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea." Giraldus some five hundred years later stated that many Welsh pedigrees were known by memory from "Roderic the Great to B.M."

Beli Mawr is an important man in early pedigrees, and in him many lines of Welsh ruling houses converge. From him, by separate lines, the pedigrees are traced back to converge again in Brutus, who is another important ancestor. Mr. Thomas Jones has already shown that from Brutus the descent back to Adam is by one single line. Thus, in the pedigrees, Beli Mawr and Brutus were two indispensable links for those who aspired to a descent from the Garden of Eden. The single line from Brutus to Adam is given in several manuscripts, and the following example is taken from B.M. Add. MS. 31055, and has appeared in Mr. Jones' *Bibyl Ynghymraec*: "Llyma Ach Brutus hyt at Noe hen, o Noe hyt at Seth vab Adhaf, vab Duw. Brutus vab Julius, vab Ascanius, vab Aeneas ysgwydhwyn o Droia Vawr, vab Anchises, vab Capis, vab Assaraeus, vab Tros, vab Erichthonius, vab Dardan, vab Juppiter, vab Saturnus, vab Cretus, vab Selus, vab Cyprius, vab Cetim, vab Jauan, vab Japheth, vab Noe hen, vab Lamech, vab Matthusale, vab Enoc, vab Jared, vab Malaleel, vab Cainan, vab Enos, vab Seth, vab Adhaf, vab Duw."

We shall see the principle of the indispensable ancestor in several later pedigrees. For instance, Rhodri Mawr fulfils a similar role. To him many families trace by various lines, from him to Beli, and from Beli to Brutus, and from Brutus by one line only, quoted above, to Adam. It is an extremely interesting piece of genealogical mechanics.

Nennius often quotes from "ancient tradition" (*ex traditione veterum*), but occasionally expresses his doubt as to its accuracy. As already quoted, he refers to two different accounts of Brutus, and also, "we are informed by the tradition of our ancestors that seven Emperors went into Britain, though the Romans affirm there

<sup>1</sup> *The Growth of Literature*, Vol. I, p. 308.

were nine." His history, however, is true to the medieval convention. The pedigrees are given in narrative form, a method which persisted in Welsh genealogies to the close of the seventeenth century. This consists of a sentence list of ancestors with an occasional item of interest added. Thus Nennius gives the pedigree of Vortigern, which traced to Fernmail, as follows:—*Hæc est genealogia illus quæ a nobis ad initium retrocurrit fernmail qui regnavit in regione guorthegirnaim filius tudor ; Tudor filius pascent ; Pascent filius guoidcant ; Guoidcant filius moruid ; Moruid filius eltat ; Eltat' filius eldoc ; Eldoc filius paul ; Paul' filius meuprit ; Meuprit' filius briacat ; Briacat' filius pascent ; Pascent' filius guorthegirn ; Guorthegirn' filius guortheneu ; Guortheneu' filius guitaul ; Guitaul' filius guitolion ; Guitolion filius glouida ; Glouida, filius paulmerion ipse autem glouida ædificavit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis sabrinæ quæ vocatur bryttannico sermone cair gloui saxonice autem gleucester. . . ."*

We will now turn to the most important early collections of Welsh pedigrees, namely those contained in Harl. MS. 3859, a manuscript written about the year 1100, and in all probability copied from an earlier manuscript compiled about the latter half of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> This contains, amongst other matters, the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriae*, and the latter is followed by a collection of genealogies which have been included in order to explain the preceding histories. There are some thirty-three pedigrees written in catalogue, not narrative, form. They vary in length, from descents of forty-seven generations (e.g. Run map Neithion) to very short ones of some four or five generations. The Welsh forms *map* (son) and *merc* (daughter) are used, but Latin is employed where the compiler has any observations to offer in the corpus of the genealogies. All relate to Welsh royal families, and the ultimate ancestors are in the main of native origin, such as Elized, Cunedda, Coel hên, Dyfnwal hên, etc. We also find Biblical and classical genealogy brought into association with the native record, in an attempt (as I believe) to bridge the gap between the beginning of early British tradition and Biblical history. The pedigree of Owen son of Howel Dda is given at length on both the agnatic and distaff sides. In the agnatic line, Owen is traced through Rhodri to Beli, and through a series of kings whose names show Roman influence, to other names some of which are undoubtedly Brythonic, and to some which indeed may represent very ancient mythical elements such as gods. This pedigree was also made in order to connect Owen's ancestry with the Blessed Virgin—" . . . qui fuit beli magni filius et anna mater eiusquam dicunt esse consobrina MARIÆ d'ni n'ri ih'is xpi." In order to produce this long pedigree and to connect Owen to the Holy Family, a departure from the agnatic

<sup>1</sup> See Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (1935) ; *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. IX, where the genealogies are printed *in toto*. In several instances two or three pedigrees in Harl. MS. 3859 have been merged, and appear as one pedigree.

line was made in the seventh generation, since it was by an ancestress that the blood of Anna ran in the veins of Howel Dda and Owen his son (Ouen map iguel map Catell map Rotri map mermin map *etthil merch cinnan map rotri*, etc.). This remained a characteristic of Welsh pedigrees for many centuries, and when it was felt necessary to produce descents from men, perhaps of greater importance than those in the agnatic line, recourse was made to the pedigree of the mothers.<sup>1</sup> This was of course quite a legitimate procedure, and was preserved in pedigrees that became known in later times as "*Achau y Mamau*."<sup>2</sup> When dealing with the distaff line, the compiler of the pedigree decided that the tree was to be traced to ancestors having important connections with the Church. Thus Owen ap Howel Dda's mother is traced through a number of South Wales and Demetian kings to Constantine, and his wife Helen luicdauc (Lywyddog), who is reputed to have been responsible for finding the true cross. Here again we notice the same departure from the direct line in the mother's pedigree (Ouein map elen merc Loumarc map Himeyt map *Tancoyslt merc ouein map margetiut*, etc.), since it was the only way to connect Owen with St. Helena. This was not done because there was no more known of the direct line, for the pedigree of Owen's father can be traced back for many generations beyond Mermin map *etthil* where the line swerves off into the female ancestry. It is obvious that the writer was anxious to bring the pedigree of Owen into ultimate association with the Church. As the early scribes were Churchmen, it seems as if they employed genealogy to tie closer the bond between Church and prince. A ruler like Owen ap Howel Dda, whose pedigree was shown to be associated with the Virgin Mary and St. Helena, could scarcely fail to be liberal to the Celtic Church by grants of land and other suitable offerings. One of the key ancestors in the pedigrees tracing to Constantine and St. Helen is Maxim guletic (*ob.* A.D. 388), and we find his name occurring in other pedigrees of this series.

The pedigree of Run map neithion, who is forty-seventh in descent from Tiberius is an interesting example of a long list of Roman emperors which has been converted into a genealogy by the Welsh scribe in order to magnify the importance of Run. The pedigree of Gripiud Teudof, although one of the shortest, is of especial interest, for it has as one of the ancestors Elized, who, according to Mr. Phillimore, is identical with the Elisse (King of Powys c. A.D. 700-750), to whose memory the Valle Crucis pillar was erected. The name Elized also occurs in pedigrees nos. xxx and xxxi, the latter reading as follows: "*Elized ioab aldan filii cincen filii brocmail filii elized*." According to Edward Lluyd, the original inscription on Elisse's pillar read: "*Concenn filius Cateli, Cateli*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the pedigree tracing John Puleston from all the five royal tribes and the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd, in Harl. MS. 3525 (A.D. 1580).

<sup>2</sup> Illustrious descents through female lines were often shown in the sixteenth century Welsh pedigrees known as *Achau Wyth Ran Rhieni*.



filius Brochmail, Brochmail filius Eliseg, Eliseg filius Cnoilloine, Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg edificavit hunc lapidem proavo suo Eliseg." If Lluyd's reading was accurate, then it is interesting to note that three of the personal names are identical with three in pedigree no. xxxi. While there is a certain divergence of opinion about this celebrated pillar, one important fact remains unshaken—namely that it points out the importance attached to genealogies by medieval Welshmen.<sup>1</sup>

Cunedda also figures in the pedigrees (nos. xvii, xviii, and xxvi). According to the *Historia*, he ruled a northern region called Manau Guotodin, and is said to have entered Wales with his nine sons whose names are given in Harl. MS. 3589 (no. xxxii), four of whom gave their names, according to early antiquarian speculation, to districts in Wales. It is interesting to note that Cunedda's immediate ancestors bear names of Roman origin—Ætern, Patern,<sup>2</sup> and Tacit. Other earlier names in the pedigree suggest Pictish affinities, which is consistent with the tradition that the family came from the North. Professor Chadwick writes: "It would seem then that the story of Cunedda is derived from tradition rather than from speculation, and belongs to the twilight of history rather than to mythology." The Church influence is also seen in the pedigree, for Cunedda's ultimate ancestors are Beli and Anna. The representation of Cunedda as a conquering invader is true to the conventional form (not confined to Wales) that seems to dictate that the ruling houses must always derive from a conquering power rather than from an entirely indigenous race.

The genealogy of the Demetian kings in the Harleian pedigrees, as we have already seen, traced to Maxen gwledic, and thence to Constantine and St. Helena. The genealogy of this family as contained in the Irish story of the Deisi<sup>3</sup> is derived from a text compiled during the reign of Tewdos, father of Maredudd who died in A.D. 796, and agrees with the pedigree given in the Harleian genealogy as far back as the fifth century. From that point the Goidelic ancestry takes the place of the one given in Harl. MS. 3859. The Deisi history is the earlier, and it is possible that the earlier ancestry had been altered at a later date as the result of ecclesiastical and classical influence. An interesting example of the abandonment of an early part of a genealogy in favour of another, has been discussed by Professor Chadwick. This is the pedigree of the line

<sup>1</sup> Several monuments record the names of early kings, e.g. in Llangadwaladr church, Anglesey, to Cadvan a descendant of Maelgwn, and father of Cadwallon; the Yarrow monument in Selkirkshire, to the sons of Nodus Liberalis (Nudd Hael), who lived in the latter part of the sixth century; and that of Voteporix now in Carmarthen Museum. But none contains the genealogical wealth found in Eliseg's pillar, which is a unique archaeological record.

<sup>2</sup> Called Patern Pesrud (Pais rudd), which suggests Roman associations.

<sup>3</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIV, p. 112: K. Meyer, "An account of an Irish settlement in Dyfed in the 3rd century." The MS. dates from c. A.D. 750.

of Strathclyde, which, in the Harleian genealogy, is traced to Dyfnwal Hen map Cinuit map Ceretic Guletic. In the genealogies of the men of the north (Hengwrt MS. 536, fourteenth century), this Dyfnwal Hen is described as the son of Idnyvet ab Maxen Wledic. Thus between the time of the writing of the Harleian pedigree and the fourteenth century, the older pedigree had been abandoned in favour of the one which traced to the more illustrious Maxen.

The history of Gruffydd ap Cynan (Peniarth MS. 17) written some time before 1171, throws considerable light on the attitude of the Welshmen of that time towards genealogy. It is obvious that the writer wished to make it clear that Gruffydd's title to his kingdom came through his descent and the pedigrees of both his parents are given in great detail.<sup>1</sup> Stress is laid on his illustrious ancestry, and the genealogies given in Welsh follow the conventional form already noted in the earlier manuscripts. Gruffydd's pedigree divides itself into four parts, culminating in Brutus, the guardian of that narrow gateway through which all Welshmen trace to "Adam son of God." The four parts are as follows:—

1. Descent of Beli Mawr from Brutus.
  2. Descent of Rhodri Mawr from Beli Mawr, through Rhodri's father (Mervyn Frych).
  3. Descent of Rhodri Mawr from Beli Mawr, through Rhodri's mother (Etil daughter of Cynan of Castell Tindaethwy).
  4. Descent of Gruffydd ab Cynan from Rhodri Mawr.
- His descent from Irish and Scandinavian kings is given in detail, accompanied by some curious anecdotes. After tracing the pedigree

<sup>1</sup> Much attention was paid to the maternal descent, which was a notable feature of early Welsh genealogy. The importance of a knowledge of maternal descent is shown in the life of Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, who in 1171 went to Ireland to claim lands which descended to him through his mother Pyfog, daughter and heiress of an Irish nobleman (A. Hughes, *Gemau'r Gogynfeirdd*, 1910). The history of Gruffydd ap Cynan shows the importance of a knowledge of his mother's pedigree, and the influence it had on his career. See Vespasian A xiv, fo. 11b, where the pedigree of Keredic king of Keredigion at one stage is diverted to another line through a mother, and for several other examples of prominence given to maternal descent. Arthur married Guinevere daughter of Ogvran the giant—"ac o deledogyon ruvein yr hanoed mam honno"; and Cadwalader's mother was sister to Peanda on her father's side—"ay mam hitheu oed wreic vonhedic o deledogyon erging ac evas." The laws (e.g. Venedotian Code, 222, 12) show that *galanas* had a bearing on female descent—"y uelly y cerda yr alanas o uamwys y uamwys hyt y seythvet uamwys." The laws also stressed the purity of descent on both the father and mother's sides. The literal translation of *ach ac edryd* is paternal and maternal descent. The alleged "statute" of Gruffydd ap Cynan shows that a knowledge of a mother's family was essential for heraldic purposes: "Hefyd tevlvwr o ran Jache, bonneddigion llei gwytro ddwyn iache y gwr ar wraig, at vn or llwythe y reiwl, a fv yn dwyn arfe gynt gida ssyberwyd boneddigion" (Peniarth MS. 73, fo. 154)—but this sentence and sentiment is typically sixteenth century, and shows clearly the influence of the newly constituted College of Arms. Gruffydd was never guilty of this sentence.

in great detail the scribe states: "Ac urth henne bonhedicaf gur oed y gruffud hwnnw, o vrenhinyaul genedel a llynoed goruchel, megys y tysta ac a bonhed y reeni." He then offers some interesting comments on the "divine" ancestry of Gruffydd whose pedigree he has already traced to "Adaf m. duw," and says: "Can deryw riuaw boned a charant gruffud vrenhin henryd byt, riuwn weithyon y vonhed herwydd duw; herwyd y dyweit tat sant ac oe vonhed ef ae o vonhed pob den yn exponyat a wnaeth ar y wers honn or sallwyr, 'chui yu y dwyweu a meibeon y goruchelaf yu paub.' Urth henne Gruffud oed vab y gynan m. adaf m. duw. Wrth henne, en y bo canmoledic gruffud vrenhin o vonhed bydaul ac vn dwywaul, kerdwn weithion. . . ." Thus in addition to producing the pedigree which traces Gruffydd to God in a physical sense, his claim to being a son of God in a spiritual sense is also stressed. We doubt whether Gruffydd's tumultuous life and ruthless conduct was entirely in keeping with such an exalted ultimate ancestry. One point of especial interest is that the narrative describes a battle in 1094 when at Gruffydd's side fell Gellan the harpist and penkerdd (*telynyaur penkerdd*). The Anglo-Norman influence is noted in the description of Meirion the Red as Gruffydd's *baron* (*y varwen*). Gruffydd died in 1137. It is noteworthy that the annals stress the right of the kings to reign, which appears to have been of greater importance than the acts performed during the reign.

Although it is obvious that the author of the *Life* was anxious to magnify his hero's importance, we cannot fail to be impressed by the careful presentation of the pedigree in such detail, and the knowledge shown of its ramifications. Other early pedigrees of the family in Llyvyr Llewelyn Offeiriad (Jesus Coll. MS. 20), in Giraldus (*Description*), and other sources agree, with minor differences, with the pedigrees as given in the *Life* of Gruffydd ap Cynan. The terms denoting ancestry are used arbitrarily by the writer, e.g. *bonedd*, *cenedl*, *rhieni*, and *câr*, are all used to indicate lineage.

One of the most important works of medieval Wales is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, completed early in the year 1136.<sup>1</sup> That a considerable part of it is fiction is admitted, but centuries of Welshmen have looked upon the work as a presentation of the true history of their race, and its stimulating fiction had a profound effect on the Welsh mind, and particularly on the pedigrees. It doubtless reflects the prevailing Welsh attitude to several subjects, and parts of it are based on genuine ancient tradition, which in Geoffrey's hand became "factual" incidents in the corpus of Welsh history. We are not concerned with its accuracy in this essay, but it will be of value to note matters which concern Welsh genealogy. Throughout the work we find emphasis on good birth (*bonhedigion* or *dyledogion*, etc.), and a small boy in Carmarthen,

<sup>1</sup> For an early Welsh text (c. 1300) see Henry Lewis, *Brut Dingestow* (1941), and J. J. Parry, *Brut y Brenhinedd* (1937).



quarrelling with Merlin, showed pride of family when he said: "Nyt wyt kyt kywira di amyvi. canys bonhedic wyffi; o blegit mam athat. Athitheu nyt oes ytt vn tat." King Vortigern (c. A.D. 400-450) is said to have had in his court twelve chief bards (y deudec prif veird), and we shall see that Llywelyn the Great, a much later monarch, also kept a large number of household bards. Many of the stories are derived from Nennius' *History*, and we find a large number of them later firmly established in genealogical and heraldic manuscripts. We find that Beli Mawr was made to justify his description and is said to have ruled Britain for forty years. A pedigree in Mostyn MS. 117 (Geoffrey's *Historie*), written in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, contains certain expressions of great interest to genealogists. There the pedigree of Llewelyn the Last is given as follows: "Llywelyn ap Gruffyd mab Llywelyn M Joruerth M Owein m gruffyd m kynan m Jago m Jdwal voel m Anaravt m Rodri m Meruyn vrych gwr priawt Esyllt verch kynan Tindaethwy mab Rodri maelwynawc m Idwal iwrch m Katwaladyr vendigeit m katwallawn m katvan m Jago m beli m Run m Maelgwn gwyned. *herwyd dull y beird Namyn o herwyd yr Jstoria* Beli oed vab y Eynyan Maelgwn y gwr uu petweryd brenhin ar ynys prydein gwedy Arthur," etc. It is interesting to find that there were in those early times some genealogists who noticed discrepancies in pedigrees and who quoted authorities.

In the different versions of the historical Bruts, there is a marked absence of actual pedigrees. The only real genealogical record is given under the year 1062, where Cynfyn ap Gwerystan, Arglwydd Cibwyr yng Ngwent is traced through twenty-six generations to the inevitable Beli Mawr.<sup>1</sup>

The value of the twelfth century *Liber Landavensis* as a genealogical record cannot be over-estimated. This had been appreciated by William Lewes of Llwynderw, Hugh Thomas of Brecon, and later by Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, who, in 1854, printed a series of pedigrees constructed from the *Liber*. These pedigrees are associated with South Wales and the borders where the diocese of Llandaff claimed jurisdiction. They relate mainly to local rulers and princes and to the most important *arglwyddi*, and vary in length from eight to two generations. These men owe the preservation of their pedigrees to the fact that they were benefactors of the Church

<sup>1</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is more prolific in genealogical references, and shows that the early Anglo-Saxons were very attentive to pedigrees, e.g. *sub* 495 A.D., Ethelwulf is traced through thirteen generations to Cerdic; *sub* 547 A.D. Ida is traced through Woden to Gaeta in fifteen generations; *sub* 552 A.D. Cerdic is traced through eleven generations to Woden; *sub* 560 A.D. Ella is traced through twelve generations to Frithowulf. Under 854 A.D. is a pedigree of some forty-nine generations which, in its length and ultimate ancestor bears comparison with the Welsh trees. This is the pedigree of Ethelwulf which is traced to Scaef son of Noah "who was born in Noah's ark," and thence to "Adam the first man, and our Father, that is, Christ, Amen." See also Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*.

and their charters are given at length in the *Liber*. Attention to the value of the genealogical content in establishing dates of charters and personalities, has been drawn by Mr. Evan D. Jones in his masterly essay on the Book of Llandaff in 1946.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jones has compiled the dynastic pedigrees of Glywysing and Gwent from the *Liber* and compared them with the independent pedigrees of the same families in Harl. MS. 3859. The result is that we have corroboration of one of the trees from Iudhail (*ob.* A.D. 848) through seven generations to Teudibric, who lived in the latter part of the sixth century. Other cartularies, such as that of Carmarthen, and monastic deeds such as the Strata Marcella charters, the Ewenny Priory deeds, etc., are also of the greatest assistance both in compiling and in checking medieval Welsh pedigrees.

The colourful tales of the Mabinogi, which assumed their final form about the middle of the twelfth century, are not without genealogical interest. The stories emphasize good descent, and there are several references to the importance of blood relationship. An incident in Kilhwch and Olwen is reminiscent of the marriage custom of *rhodd cenedl*, which is mentioned in the laws. This involved a consultation within the tribe in connection with a projected marriage. In Kilhwch and Olwen, a deputation asked Yspaddaden Penkawr for the hand of his daughter, and they promised to pay her dower and amobr to the father and to two of her kinsmen. Yspaddaden replied: "Her four great-grandmothers and four great-grandsires are yet alive, it is needful that I take counsel of them." Such a custom would necessitate a knowledge of relationship and the family tree. The tales also refer to bards, heralds, and story-tellers (*cyfarwydd*), who were the keepers of the national traditions, genealogies, and history.

The sources reviewed relate to Welsh dynasties, and we now turn to another class of pedigrees, namely those of the saints—*Bonedd y Saint*. These have already received detailed attention from such scholars as the reverend gentlemen, W. J. Rees,<sup>2</sup> S. Baring Gould and J. Fisher,<sup>3</sup> and A. W. Wade-Evans.<sup>4</sup> Several early collections of *Bonedd y Saint* have survived. Thus Harl. MS. 4181, written in the thirteenth century, is a purely genealogical record and contains some fifty-nine pedigrees, fourteen of which trace the saints to Cunedda Wledig, and others to illustrious royal ancestors. The account of Brychan Brycheiniog, a prolific progenitor of saintly children, has been taken from a manuscript (B.M. Vespasian A xiv) copied from a much earlier source compiled about the year A.D. 900. Other thirteenth century records of saintly pedigrees are contained in Peniarth MSS. 16 and 45 in the National Library of Wales. Since

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the National Library of Wales*, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*.

<sup>3</sup> *Lives of the British Saints*.

<sup>4</sup> *Vitæ Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiæ*.

the Church had a great influence on Welsh genealogy, and as most of the genealogical records were written and kept in the religious houses, it is necessary to consider briefly the religious background of medieval Wales.

The Church was a dominant influence on the life of our ancestors. The glories of the old Celtic Church at the beginning of our Christian history, and the majesty of the Roman Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, helped to produce an ordered life, fine literature, and poetry as shewn in Latin lyrics and hymnology, and, on the Continent, an architecture of an outstanding magnificence. It was also an age of faith, of crusades, of monasticism, and of pilgrimages. Two cults arose, both of which had an influence on Welsh genealogy. One was the cult of the Virgin, whose influence has been already noted in the dynastic pedigrees. Until the fourth century the Virgin was not honoured above other saints, but in that century the tenet of the Immaculate Conception was established, and from that period she dominated the minds of Christians who also held a similar veneration for her mother, St. Anna. The Virgin occupied a prominent place in all medieval theology, sermons, folk-tales, popular poetry, and also in Welsh genealogy. It is, however, a curious matter that her name was not borne by Welsh women until the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Her pedigree is constantly found in the genealogies where the pedigree of our Lord is given; and Anna with her three daughters (*Y Tair Fair*) take their place in the works of the Gogynfeirdd and later poets.

The Celtic Church adopted the cult of the Saints with much enthusiasm, and having canonized saints set about providing pedigrees for them. A very large number of saints are shown as members of the princely families, which was the result of a desire to associate the Church with the temporal power. It was not with the minor dynasties that the saints were connected, but with the most powerful and important ones. The early saints belonged to eight great families, those of Maxen Wledig, Cunedda, Cadell Deyrnwg, Brychan Brycheiniog, Caw of Cwm Cawlyd in North Britain, Coel Godebog ("that primitive and convivial soul" as Dr. Round calls him), Cystennin Gorneu, and Emyr Llydaw of Armorica. Some of the female saints were married to rulers. Thus, St. Elen Lwydog verch Eudaf, married Maxen Wledig, and St. Arddun was the wife of Brochwel Ysgithrog, while the saintly daughters of Brychan found earthly partners from the ranks of important *uchelwyr*. Sometimes saintliness was hereditary—St. Gwythyr was the son of St. Elen Lwydog, the mother of St. David was St. Non, and Emyr Llydaw's uncle was St. Germanus. This is also noticeable in the pedigrees of the Irish saints which occupy a prominent place in the early genealogical manuscripts of Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> Except in the names of those men who dedicated their lives to her, and became Gwasmair; cf. Gillamwri of the *Mabinogi*.



The saintly pedigrees, as given in Harl. MS. 4181 and other manuscripts are, as a rule, short, never more than four or five generations, while in some cases only the parents' names are chronicled. In later manuscripts brief notices of their lives have been interwoven into the pedigrees themselves, and they are sometimes grouped numerically, such as *Tair gwelygordd Saint Ynys Prydein*, *Plant Brychan Brycheiniog*, etc. Later poets preserved their memory in verse, and *Llyfyr Sion Brooke o Vowddwy* (c. 1600) contains four *englynion* giving St. Cybi's family and relations.<sup>1</sup> The reason for the shortness of the saintly pedigrees is obvious. It was the object of those responsible for the compilations to connect the pedigrees to royal lines, and once this was done, any information of earlier ancestry was to be found in the dynastic pedigrees themselves. It is interesting to note that these pedigrees appear again in the *Lives* of the saints (much later than the *Bonedd*), which shows that the compilers of the saints' biographies actually used the earlier *Bonedd*.

We now turn to the people responsible for the care and preservation of the pedigrees. There are evidences that the pedigrees were preserved by the following: the bards, which are stated to have been the genealogists of the Welsh; the historians; the *cyfarwydd*, or story-tellers; the clergy, who were often the historians; and, to these, may be added the memory of the people themselves.

The genealogical works of only two of these classes have hitherto been found—the historians and the clergy. The *Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan* may have been written by a secular writer, although there are indications that he was a cleric, while Nennius, Geoffrey, and the writers of *Bonedd y Saint*, were certainly clerics. The pedigrees retained in the memory of Giraldus' "common people" were those of the free tribesmen, orally transmitted and remembered for economic and social purposes, and for legal process involved in *galanas* and *sarhaad*.

Some interesting tendencies are to be seen in the works of the early bards. In the preface to the first volume of the *Myvyrian Archaeology* (1801) we are told: "Our bards were not barbarians amongst barbarians; they were men of letters." Apart from amusing the king in his hall and serenading the queen in her bower, the bard also accompanied the *teulu* and *bonheddig* into battle. Their fame was not confined to Wales, and the early English historians considered them sufficiently important to include a reference to them in their chronicles. The Saxon genealogies, stated by Zimmer to have been compiled about the seventh century, contain

<sup>1</sup> Cf. similar poems on the five royal tribes (B.M. Faustina E11, fo. 218), and the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd (*Gwynedd* 3, pp. 280-1; Bangor MS. 5943, fo. 187; and Golden Grove MS.). The preservation of pedigrees in poetical form was universal, and Professor Chadwick draws attention to some remarkable instances among Maori and other sources (*Growth of Literature*, Vol. III, p. 391).

the following significant entry, following upon the account of Ida of Northumbria (A.D. 549–559): "[T]unc dutigirn. in illo tempore fortiter dimicabat contra gentem Anglorum. Tunc talhaern tat aguen in poemate claruit. et neirn. et. taliessin et bluchbard. et cian qui vocatur gueinth guaut. simul uno tempore in poemate brittanico claruerunt."<sup>1</sup> Thus we find, during the time Dutigern fought bravely against the Angles, that Talhaearn Tad Awen, [A]neurin, Taliesin, and Bluchbard, and Cian (who was called Gweinth Gwawd) were famous in British poetry. The names and poetry of the first three are well known to us, but this is the only known record which has preserved the names of the last two bards.

According to the later genealogists (Jesus Coll. MS. 20, etc.) Llywarch Hên, cousin of Urien Rheged, was himself the ancestor of kings, and Rhodri Mawr is traced back to Douc ab Llywarch Hên, and the tribal ancestor, Cilmin Troed-ddu, is traced to the same source.

We have stated that these early bards were known as Cynfeirdd. No genealogy is incorporated into their poetry. This contrasts strongly with the early poems of Celtic Ireland. The genealogical motif was a characteristic of Irish poetry, and some poems of great length have survived. Some of them were composed in the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages in the fifth century, and were far longer than those of the Welsh bards, e.g. one poem by Flann Mainistreach (*ob.* 1056) contains some 4,880 lines, while other similar poems contain over 200 verses. The Irish genealogical poems remained a popular convention until the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh genealogical *cynghanedd* is a much later arrival. In the poems of the Cynfeirdd, the names of people are, normally, confined to one or two generations, e.g. Urien, Geraint ab Erbin, Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn, etc.; and the names of a few remote ancestors are sometimes introduced, like Arthur and others, such as we find in the Poetry of the Graves. Some of these names corroborate the information contained in the genealogies. Thus, Aircol Lawhir was a member of the royal family of Dyfed, and from the Cynfeirdd we learn that he was buried in his own kingdom (Bet Airgiol in dyved). It must be borne in mind that these bards lived during the age of British heroes. The book of Aneurin is almost all heroic poetry, and the actors are of princely rank or followers of princes. Since warfare formed an essential part of heroic life, many references are found to battles, combats, armour, and other concomitants like feasting and revelling.

There is a period of some 400 years between the Cynfeirdd and the Gogynfeirdd. The literary activity, however, was far from being dead, and to this intervening period belongs much of the

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Harl. MS. 3859.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Hall, *A Text Book of Irish Literature*, 1906; R. I. Best, *A Bibliography of Irish Philology and Manuscript Literature*, 1942.

contents of the Book of Taliesin, the Black Book of Carmarthen, the poetry of the Red Book of Hergest, and other compilations. Bardism continued to flourish in that period, and the continuity was not broken. It is significant to note in the "Domesday Book," that Prince Gruffydd ap Llewelyn (*ob.* 1063) had granted lands in the borders of Gwent to his bard, one Berddig, "ioculator regis."

The period of the Gogynfeirdd extends from about 1100 to about 1350-1400. They may be conveniently divided into two groups: (1) the bards of the princes, to 1282; and (2) the bards of the *uchelwyr*, to about 1350-1400. Most of the pre-1282 Gogynfeirdd appear to have been household bards to the ruling princes or to other important patrons connected with princely families. Among the early ones were Meilir Fardd (elegy on Griffith ap Cynan who died in 1137), Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (fl. 1175-1220), and Philip Brydydd (the bard of Rhys Gryg). Reference has already been made to hereditary bards in Anglesey, and if a pedigree in Peniarth MS. 54 is reliable, we have another example in Gwynfardd ("Llyma ach gwynnvardd brycheinioc: heilyn vardd ap Maren vardd ap avel ap y drud," etc., fo. 31). Among the bards of Llewelyn the Great were Dafydd Benfras (*c.* 1220-57), a warrior-bard, Llywarch ap Llewelyn (*c.* 1173-1220), and Elidir Sais (*c.* 1195-1246), and among those of Llewelyn the Last is Bleddyn Fardd (*c.* 1257-85). In Owain Gwynedd (*ob.* 1170) and Hywel his son, rulers of Gwynedd, we have two princely bards whose works are of a high order. The famous Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (*c.* 1155-1200) was one of Owain Gwynedd's personal bards. Another prince who was as distinguished a bard as he was a ruler, was Owain Cyfeiliog of Powys, the son of Gruffydd ap Maredudd ap Bleddyn ap Cynfyn. Owain's wife was the daughter of the said Owain Gwynedd, and their son was Gwynwyn. Owain Cyfeiliog was buried in Strata Marcella abbey in 1197, which he had founded some twenty-seven years previously. Only the names of the Dimetian princely bards have survived. Gwynfardd Dyfed (who, under Mabinogi influence, is said to have been son of Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed), his son Cyhylyn Fardd, and his grandson Gwrwared Cerdd Gynil, were probably masters of the bardic craft. The name of Cyhylyn occurs in a twelfth century deed, while Gwrwared's name appears in the public records of the thirteenth. A direct descendant of these rulers was Dafydd ap Gwilym, the greatest *bonheddig*-bard of all time. The name of Elidir Sais and the pedigree of Hywel Foel ap Griffri ap Pwyll Wyddel (*c.* 1255-70), suggest that these bards were not of *gwaed coch cyfa*. However, the term *Sais* was sometimes applied to Welshmen who had learnt to speak English fluently, but there can be no doubt about Pwyll Wyddel's nationality.

The absence of genealogy in the poems of these bards is noteworthy, although, like the Cynfeirdd, references are made to remote ancestors and early eponymoi, as well as to figures in Biblical



and classical history. When describing patrons and others, the rubrics often contain three-generation names which are also sometimes found in the body of the works, e.g. Ywain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn, Owain Vychan ap Madoc ap Maredd, Einyawn m Madawc m Iton, etc. Other names are brief, like Yr Arglwydd Rhys, Ririd Vleit, meibyon Dwywc vab Iorwerth, Vletynt m Dwywc, etc.

The ancestors named in the early pedigrees and poems are well-known princes and saints, and also lesser mortals of whom no knowledge has survived. The Fifteen Tribes were not known to these early writers, with the exception of eponymoi like Braint Hir, Collwyn, and Ririd Flaidd, who are described merely as incidental actors and not as "founders" of family groups. Names like Llewelyn Aurdorchog and Urien Rheged are prominent in the Cynfeirdd period, but by the time of the Gogynfeirdd the influence of the Mabinogi and the Romance tales had coloured them. Although Arthur is brought into association with Welsh families, due to the later Romance influence, it is noteworthy that very few families claimed him as an ancestor. He has also been brought into association with Biblical genealogy under ecclesiastical influence, and his pedigree in Harl. MS. 200 (fifteenth century) traces him to Joseph of Arimathea, while in *Bonedd y Saint* one of his ancestors is St. Tudwal. The earliest known reference to Arthur is in Nennius' *Historia* (see W. Lewis Jones, *King Arthur in History and Legend*).

There is no indication of the position of illegitimate children in the early pedigrees, although the laws provide for them. In practice, the illegitimate son was regarded in the family on an equal footing with the legal children, and in the *Papal Letters* for 1222 there is a record of a petition from Llewelyn the Great, wherein he complained that there was in Wales "a detestable custom . . . that the son of the hand-maid should be heir with the son of the free, putting legitimate and illegitimate sons on the same footing." We shall find several examples of this laxity in later times, which has led to many difficulties in the tracing of pedigrees. According to the Golden Grove books, the Lord Rhys had as many as eighteen illegitimate children, the sons being granted important estates, and the daughters married into well-known Welsh and Norman families of gentle rank.

#### (b) 1282-1450.

A number of influences which had been felt in Wales in the late eleventh century were to become prominent factors in Welsh life during the period 1282-1450. These were the influences of the Anglo-Norman penetration of Wales, the formation of marcher lordships, and the introduction of the alien systems of government, of feudal tenure, and military organization. The political effects were felt most intimately by the dynastic families who eventually lost all their power. The effect on the *arglwyddi* and the *bonheddig*

was of an economic nature, but their liberties and way of living do not appear to have suffered or altered greatly. Indeed, it is remarkable to find that the *bonheddig*, far from being extinguished by the conquering power, retained the lands and many privileges associated with them. A glance at the pedigrees and estates of Welsh landlords at the beginning of the present century, reveals the fact that a number continue to own, often by unbroken male descent, lands that were the inheritance of twelfth century ancestors. Another feature of the Anglo-Norman penetration, as shown by the pedigrees and other evidences, is the large amount of intermarriage that took place between the Welsh and their conquerors. This intermarriage had been employed by the ruling houses from early times as a matter of policy. Thus Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, king of Gwynedd and Powys (*ob.* 1063) had married Ealdgith daughter of Ælfgar of Mercia: Nest daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr (*ob.* 1093) married Gerald de Windsor: Gruffydd (*ob.* 1201) ab Yr Arglwydd Rhys, married Matilda de Breos: Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn (*ob.* 1286) married Hawise le Strange. The greatest of our princes, Llewelyn Fawr (*ob.* 1240) had married Joan daughter of King John, while his six children all married Anglo-Normans. The grandchildren of Llewelyn also sought partners from similar sources, for Llewelyn the Last (*ob.* 1282) married Eleanor de Mountfort, and David (*ob.* 1283) married Elizabeth Ferrers. Indeed that great Welsh patriot, Owen Glyndwr, had in his veins the blood of the De Audeleys, and his children had in theirs the blood of the Hanmers. Towards the end of this period, the blood of Marchudd and Ednyfed Fychan ran in the veins of the kings of England. The Anglo-Normans married Welsh women as a matter of policy, and this is especially noticeable in the pedigrees of South Wales families. The Turbervilles and Perrotts, Malefants and Butlers, Flemings and Berkerolles, all acquired property and peaceful possession by espousing Welsh wives. As a result of this intermarriage, some of the *advenae* came to speak Welsh as their primary language. The Hanmers and Salusburys became thoroughly Welsh in sentiment and politics, and a member of the ancient family of St. Donats Castle, Sir Edward Stradling, bore the cost of printing the first book on Welsh grammar. Thus we find to-day in Wales men with surnames like Martell, Mortimer, Garnons, and Tibbott, whose primary language is Welsh but whose ultimate ancestry is in the "bocage" country. A study of Welsh pedigrees also shows that several English and Norman families, after long domicile in Wales, and intermarriage, not only forgot their native language, but even abandoned their original surnames for the *ap* of the native-born.

I should like to refer to the extraordinary statement made by G. T. Clark in his introduction to *Limbus Patrum* (1888) in connection with the Gower families. Clark had come to believe that the people of Gower were an exclusive folk who would have nothing to do with the despised Welsh. He says: "They have intermarried

but seldom with the Welsh or with the *Advenae* of Glamorgan or Carmarthen." Now, on pp. 475–507 of his book, Clark gives the pedigrees of over seventy Gower families, and it is to these we turn to find justification for Clark's statement. To our surprise we find that every one of these pedigrees directly contradict what Clark wrote in his preface! Not only did the Gower families intermarry regularly with the Welsh and with the *advenae*, but some of them actually bore Welsh names. In many instances some of the very first ancestors in the pedigrees were married to Welsh wives. It is inconceivable that Clark should have made this statement when he must have known that the pedigrees were a direct refutation of it. Similar nonsense has been written concerning south Pembrokeshire, a tract of land where people are English in speech but more often Welsh by descent. A study of Pembrokeshire pedigrees, medieval and modern, show that this intermarriage was the rule rather than the exception, and this is further borne out by public records and private documents. Yet Edward Laws, author of *Little England beyond Wales*, subscribed to a popular fallacy, although here again a genealogical manuscript that he published as an appendix to his book, completely upsets the confident assertions of the earlier pages. Laws appears to have relied on the manuscripts of George Owen of Henllys (*ob.* 1613), who also spoke of these "characteristics" of the Little Englanders.<sup>1</sup> Owen should have known better since his grandmother was a south Pembrokeshire Elliot while his wife was from the castle of Picton in the heart of Pembrokeshire's Fleming land. The baronial rolls of Cemes show that a large number of George Owen's homagers were English-speaking men from south Pembrokeshire who had acquired property in the barony by marriage with Welsh heiresses. A study of pedigrees shows that this alleged exclusiveness is nothing more than a myth—and a modern one at that.

I have dealt with the subject of intermarriage at some length since it had an important effect on Welsh life. It also led to a wider outlook, and we find Sir Desgarry Sais, Mathew Goch, Hywel y Fwyall, David Gam, and many others entering the English service and distinguishing themselves in fields far from their native hills. Despite the so-called conquest of Wales and the laws directed against Welshmen, certain basic Welsh economic and social conditions were allowed to function undisturbed. Gavelkind and *cymmortha* remained in force, and the Welsh *bonheddig* continued to own both acres and *caethion*.<sup>2</sup> The Black Book of St. Davids (1326), the Record of Carnarvon (1352), and other documents, show that the economic life of the Welsh had not been seriously disturbed. Indeed, in the Black Book we find, besides a great number of Welsh customs and renders, that lands were held in Norman manors by Welsh

<sup>1</sup> *The Description of Pembrokeshire*, ed. H. Owen, Vol. I, pp. 39–40.

<sup>2</sup> For Welsh lawyers described as "pleaders in the laws of Howell da" practising in the Royal courts in S. Wales, see P.R.O. *Min. Accts.*, 1222/5, 1222/12, 1223/5, 1223/9, 1223/10, etc. (A.D. 1386–1436).



tenure, side by side with those held by feudal tenure. Even the *advenae* themselves often held by the native tenure, and the I.P.M. of William Martin in 1326 states that one of his tenants, William Corbett, held lands in Cemes (Welsh Pembrokeshire), according to the custom of gavelkind.<sup>1</sup>

The old sin of incest, so roundly condemned by Giraldus, continued to persist among a people whose economic structure remained based on family rights. The result may have been often economically advantageous, but it certainly complicated pedigrees. It also attracted the wrath of the Church, and it is to this that we are indebted for many records of these intermarriages. Although intermarriage with the *advenae* was carried on, the descendants of those unions kept the blood within their families, with the result that the marriages of cousins became a feature of Welsh life. In 1290, a dispensation was granted to Hewel called Vechan, son of Hewel Abrisgrit and Eva Kemraes, of St. Davids diocese, to remain married, they being related in the third and fourth degrees of kindred, and they making oath that at the time of their marriage they were ignorant of the impediment.<sup>2</sup> The oath relating to ignorance of the impediment was a formal affair and could hardly have been a statement of the actual truth (cf. Giraldus' statement: "They generally abuse these dispensations," etc., *Descr. Cambr.*, cap. vi). In 1283, a dispensation granted to a South Wales prince-ling shows a reason which is also referred to by Giraldus. It is contained in a papal mandate, dated 4th December, 1283, to the Bishop of St. Davids, to grant dispensation to Rhys Mareduc and Auda de Hastings to intermarry, they being related in the third and fourth degrees of kindred: "their respective progenitors desire the match as a means of making up their quarrels, and preventing those of their dependants."<sup>3</sup> The petition of Humphrey and William, Earls of Hereford and Northampton, to the Pope, stated that whereas of old there was strife and slaughter among the common relations and friends of David Vichan and Alice daughter of Howel Vichan, of St. Davids diocese, it fell out that David and Alice contracted marriage, clandestinely indeed, seeing that they were related in the third and fourth degrees of kindred. On this, the strife ceased, to the great consolation of the people and the country. Wherefore the said earls prayed for a dispensation that the said David and Alice may remain in the marriage so contracted. The Pope granted this dispensation in 1345, the married couple having to do penance, and to found chaplaincies, or, to give money to the subsidy against the Turks, according to their means.<sup>4</sup> Even when great distances separated the kinsfolk, the Welshmen mounted their

<sup>1</sup> *Baronia de Kemes*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Papal Registers*, Vol. I, p. 515.

<sup>3</sup> *Old Wales*, Vol. II, p. 15. See Bridgeman, *Princes of South Wales*, pp. 189-90, where the pedigree is given.

<sup>4</sup> *Papal Petitions*, Vol. II, p. 102.

horses and trotted across many shires in order that the tribal bonds might be strengthened. In 1343, the Bishop of Exeter was empowered to grant a dispensation to allow Thomas ap Aaron of Wales and Elizabeth St. John of the diocese of Exeter to remain in marriage despite the fact that they were related in the third degree "on both sides."<sup>1</sup> The relationship between Morgan ap David Hopkin and Gwenllyan daughter of William ap David ap Meuryk of St. Davids diocese, could only have been disentangled by a Welsh genealogist of the old sort, for their dispensation in 1445 describes them as "related in the double fourth degree of kindred and the second, third, and the third and fourth, and the triple fourth degrees of affinity."<sup>2</sup> Their parish priest must have been unusually well versed in pedigrees to have been able to show clearly the state of the family tree of these two erring members of his flock.

That such marriages could lead to disaster when the Church authorities decided to dig in their toes is shown in the history of the Lloyds of Blaiddbwll in Pembrokeshire. The wife of the famous Jenkin Lloyd of Blaiddbwll,<sup>3</sup> was Eva daughter and co-heiress of Meredith ap Thomas, lord of Iscoed, a descendant of Rhys ap Tewdwr. This Meredith was, by Adam Houghton, Bishop of St. Davids (1361-88), pronounced illegitimate, because his father, Thomas ap Llewelyn, had married his cousin-german for his second wife who became Meredith's mother. The result was that all the lands fell to Meredith's sisters of the half blood by the father's first wife.

There is also evidence that the *uchelwyr* continued to form unions of a patriarchal character, and that the children of such ventures were admitted into the family group. Extensive illegitimacy was normal in medieval aristocratic societies, and a study of English and Norman baronial families show how general it was. An inquisition taken at Builth in 1298-99 to inquire as to the heirs of a property, stated that Anhareth, Eva, and Tangluted, daughters of Owen, were his nearest heirs, and further, that they were illegitimate, "but they say that in these parts both illegitimate and legitimate succeed to the heritage of their ancestors, and such has always been the custom."

The influence of the Roman, as distinct from the Celtic Church, became paramount during the period under review. The establishment of monasteries and other religious houses from the late eleventh century, and the gifts of lands turned the Church into a formidable landowning corporation. Thus, apart from its spiritual authority, the Church was also a temporal power. The monasteries and abbeys

<sup>1</sup> *Papal Registers*, Vol. III, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 496. For the distinction between degrees of consanguinity and affinity, see Benham's *Dictionary of Religion*, sub Marriage.

<sup>3</sup> Jenkin Llwyd was the son of Ievan Llwyd of Pont Henry in Trayan Canol in the fee of Dyffryn Taf (deed 1390), a descendant of Gwynfardd Dyfed.

became the centres of learning, and many of the bards of this period found shelter in the cloisters where they wrote their poems and compiled the pedigrees. Several references are found to pedigree manuscripts in religious houses. Lewis Dwnn mentions "y llyfr Du parsment esgob dewi," where he got a fine pedigree of Gwaethfoed of Ceredigion.<sup>1</sup> The writer of Mostyn MS. 212B quotes, in support of one pedigree: "Hyn oll a dystiolaytha y Rol vawr o waith Morgan abad o ystrad fflyr, hen athro kyfarwydd." We now find the introduction of the word "roll." The rolls of arms and pedigrees were certainly known to our medieval ancestors, and a beautiful emblazoned roll of arms of c. 1340, recently purchased from the Middle Hill collection, was endorsed with these Welsh words: "Rowch honn y gwrtht brodyr Kaer Verdinn."<sup>2</sup> The manuscript known as "Y Cwttta Cyfarwydd"<sup>3</sup> was possibly written by one David, a monk of Neath Abbey. On folio 23b of Peniarth MS. 75 (sixteenth century) is a pedigree "a gad gan brior bedd kelert." The pedigrees of the clergy themselves were often entered in these manuscripts, and fo. 606 of Peniarth MS. 118 contains that of the Abad Morgan ap Gwilym ap Thomas ap Bleddyn. In the manuscripts of this period we find prominence still being given to *Bonedd y Saint*, e.g. Havod MS. 16 (c. 1400), B.M. Tiberius E 1 (fourteenth century). It is quite clear that several of the clergy wrote pedigrees themselves and that several of the bards were in Holy Orders.

Since the bards and genealogists were often intimately associated with religious foundations, it is not surprising to find that the fiction of Biblical descents and particularly the connection with the Virgin Mary and St. Anna remained part of the genealogical stock-in-trade. Anna, who had been thrice married and had a daughter called Mary by each of the husbands, is often mentioned in the manuscripts, and Peniarth MS. 47 Pt. III (fifteenth century) contains her life history.

We shall now consider the actual writers and keepers of the pedigrees, namely the bards. We have noted that after 1282 the bards lost their chief supporters and patrons—the native princes. However, the tradition was energetically carried on by the lesser *arglwyddi* and *bonheddig*, and these were now the patrons of pedigree and song. The Gogynfeirdd transferred their attention to the *bonheddig*, but their style remained unchanged and there is little of the genealogical motif in their actual poetry. Amongst them were Dafydd y Coed (c. 1300–1350), Goronwy Ddu ap Tudur ap Heilin of Anglesey (1320–70), Goronwy Cyriog (after 1282), Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch (1260–1300), Iorwerth ab y Cyriog (c. 1350), Iorwerth Fychan ap Iorwerth ap Rhotpert of South Wales (fourteenth century), Maredudd ap Rhys said to have been a priest in Rhiwabon,

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Add. MS. 15041, fos. 127a–132.

<sup>2</sup> Now in possession of Mr. Anthony Wagner, *Richmond Herald*.

<sup>3</sup> Peniarth MS. 50, c. 1425–56.



and several others.<sup>1</sup> The poetical prince of this period was Dafydd ap Gwilym who abandoned the old metrical conventions and subjects and established the *cywydd* as the popular medium.<sup>2</sup> The Gogynfeirdd, as a class, died out towards the close of the fourteenth century, and a new school arose. It was this new school of poets that first established genealogy and heraldry as part of Welsh poetical convention. But it is to be emphasized that genealogy was no new thing to them. It was part of what they had inherited.

The poets seem to have deteriorated socially by about 1400, and were no longer drawn exclusively from the ranks of the *uchelwyr* and *bonheddig*. The *bonheddig* continued to form the backbone of Welsh nationality, and the class that later became known as *gwerin* was still of negligible proportions. As a result of Glyndwr's revolt, which had demonstrated the popular appeal of the bards, Henry IV in 1402 instituted a law against "wasters, rimers, minstrels, and other vagabonds," and forbade the Welsh to make "comorthas or gatherings of the common people" (4 Henry IV, cap. 27). Some of the bards were no longer welcomed by the *bonheddig*, and an *englyn* preserved in the Penybenglog MSS. shows that the important fifteenth century Nevern landowner, Howel ap Jenkin ap Robert, gave short shrift to the singers:—

Gan howel gythrel gidag ethrod—gwrddh  
fe gae gerddor gernod  
Gan ei dad gleisiad i glod  
Kayd nobol o ai adnabod. [nobol=noble, 6s. 8d.].

Howel's father, it seems, had been more amiable.<sup>3</sup> Guto'r Glyn also complained that Harri Ddu o Euas was not so kind to the bards as formerly, and that he did not respect the old customs as his father had done. The bardic profession, however, continued to attract several recruits from the landowning families, and in the period 1413–22 we find poems written by "Ieuan mab Rhydderch fab Ieuan llwyd gwr bonheddig o enau'r glynn yn Sir Aber Teifi,"<sup>4</sup> while the bard Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd ap Einion Lygliw was descended from Griffith Voel, Cadifor, and Gwaethfoed.

<sup>1</sup> See *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd* (1933), which contains poems by a large number of Gogynfeirdd. The oldest parts of this MS. (now N.L.W. MS. 6680) were written in the thirteenth century. There is no genealogy in the poems.

<sup>2</sup> "Dafydd ap Gwilym gam ap Gwilym ap Gwrward ap Gwilym ap Gwrward ap Kyhelyn fardd ap Gwynfardd Dyfed" (Peniarth MS. 120, fo. 733).

<sup>3</sup> Howel's daughter, Jane, died on 20th September, 1451, and her tomb, with her father's arms carved thereon, is still to be seen in St. Mary's church, Tenby. Despite Howel's physical violence towards the *cerddor*, some bards appear to have got on with him quite well. See "I Howel o Nanhyfer," a poem said to have been written by L. G. Cothi (B.M. Add. MS. 14871), and "Cowydd i Howel ap Sienkyn o'r Nanhyfer" by Rhys Nantmor (Llanstephan MS. 38B, fo. 98).

<sup>4</sup> *Gwyneddion* 3, p. 32; see Dwnn, op cit., Vol. I, pp. 45, 85. Professor G. J. Williams in *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* has shown that most of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Glamorganshire bards claimed descent from Einion ap Collwyn.

Although Dafydd ap Gwilym's works contain but few references to genealogy and heraldry, one of his poems is a very interesting example of whimsical genealogy, which in later times became very popular. This is his famous poem wherein he describes the ancestry of *hiraeth* (longing) (see Gwyneddon 3, pp. 88-9). This whimsy was applied to other subjects, and we find the pedigrees of ale ("Achau'r Cwrw"), the miser ("Achau'r Cybydd"), and the benevolent ("Achau'r Hael"). After 1300 the bards began to incorporate genealogy in their poems. Iolo Goch (c. 1320-c. 1398), a *bonheddig*-bard, descended from Hedd ab Alunawg,<sup>1</sup> was the first who wrote genealogical verse on any appreciable scale, and his poems contain many references to earlier ancestors like Ririd Vlaidd, Collwyn ap Tangno, etc. But the glory of Iolo's compositions, from a genealogical standpoint, is his poem where Owain Glyndwr's pedigree is traced back for many generations. Iolo was a supporter of Glyndwr—"Edling o hen genhedlaeth" as he calls him—and the poem traced twelve generations of his immediate forebears with extraordinary accuracy, and then mentioned the earlier ancestors. This poem is an important landmark in the history of Welsh genealogical records. A poet of a slightly later period, namely Rhys Goch Eryri (c. 1385-1448), produced a similar poem which shows that genealogy had become a conventional part of Welsh poetic technique, and his "Achau Wiliam Fychan, Siambren Hen," of some eighty-four lines ending in

Fab Seth difeth diofer  
Fab Addaf, Duw Naf fy Ner,

is an equally important landmark in Welsh genealogy.<sup>2</sup>

The poetry of Guto'r Glyn (1400-1500) contains references which show that emphasis on pedigrees had become an important element in bardism. His poems are addressed to famous Welsh soldiers like Sir Richard Gethin, Mathew Goch, John Burgh Lord Mawddwy, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and important *uchelwyr* like Dafydd ap Thomas of Blaen Tren, William Fychan of Penrhyn, the Welsh Herberts, the Kyffins and Kynastons. It is interesting to note that Guto addressed a poem to Edward IV (1461-83) and glories in his descent from the Welsh princes. This reference to the Welsh descent of the royal family became a popular subject after the accession of the Tudors.

<sup>1</sup> Later known as Hedd Molwynog. The bard Tudur Aled (late fifteenth century) was also descended from this Hedd.

<sup>2</sup> Poetry as a medium of preserving genealogies was known in Europe long before this. The "Ynglingatal," a genealogical poem composed for Rognvald Heidumhoeri, a little after A.D. 900, traces Rognvald's family through thirty generations to Odin (*Viking Age*, Vol. I, p. 67). There may have been older ones in Wales. In "A History of Anglesey" (supplement *Mona Antiqua*), 1775, p. 29, there are two genealogical poems on St. Cybi's family, said to have been written by "an ancient British poet."

We also find references to "Achau'r Mamau." In the fourteenth century Jesus College MS. 20 is recorded the ancestry of Mam vrachen brycheiniog, while several other pedigrees in that manuscript swerve from the agnatic line and trace through a female descent (e.g. pedigree of Tewdwr m. Griffri, Rees Gryc, Seissyll, and others), the object being to trace the descent to a particularly worthy ancestor. In Peniarth MS. 191 (c. 1450), we read the following pedigree: "Jeuan ap J ap *Hawys verch* Owein ap Gr ap D ap O Keveilioc ap Gr ap Meredith ap Bleddyn ap kynvyn ap Elystan ap Gwerystan ap Cadell ap Rrodri mawr ap *Essyllt verch* kynan din daethwy," and thence to "Adaf ap Duw." In this pedigree the descent has swerved twice in order to achieve its ultimate ancestor.

The old Welsh royal pedigrees continued to be recorded in the manuscripts of this period, although there was no longer any practical necessity for their preservation. They appear to have been kept for two reasons—as a part of annalistic learning incidental to the story of Wales which was part of the bardic syllabus, and also as a purely genealogical record to complete the pedigrees of the medieval *bonheddig* who claimed to trace to princely stocks, mainly through female lines. They may have also owed their preservation partly to a lingering patriotism and a nostalgic longing for "the good old days." The pedigree in Harl. MS. 673 (fourteenth century) gives "Geneologia llewelini principis Wallie," and seems to have been preserved as a mark of respect to the memory of a great prince. It is in two parts, and the first, headed "principes," gives the princes in the agnatic line from Llewelyn through seventeen generations to Kadwaladr Vendigaid; the second part, headed "reges," traces the tree from the said Cadwaladr through seventy-seven generations to the familiar "Adam ap dyuu."

Two important genealogical manuscripts of this period have survived, namely Jesus College MS. 20 and "Bonhed Gwyr y Gogledd." The former, written c. 1300–50, was, in part, copied from a manuscript written at least one hundred years previously.<sup>1</sup> They follow the same format as the Nennian genealogies, that is, they are written in the narrative form. Known as "Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad," this manuscript was undoubtedly the work of that cleric. Llewelyn Offeiriad came from a good Welsh family, being a younger son of Griffith ab Owain ap Bleddyn, descended from the famous Owain Brogyntyn.<sup>2</sup> His name indicates that he was a priest, and it is said that he was also a bard, genealogist, and armorist. Written in Welsh, the manuscript contains some fifty-one pedigrees of early saints, among them being those of Dewi Sant and the Brychan family, and also of princes like Gruffydd ap Cynan and Rhys Gryg, and of great *arglwyddi* like Gwgawn, Howel ap Llewelyn, and others. At the end, a list of British kings is given. Several short sentences

<sup>1</sup> These pedigrees have been printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1850, Vol. II, p. 223; *Arch. Camb.*, 1877, p. 111.



hint at early Welsh traditions now long lost. The reference to "Gwgawn Keneu menrud a vu neidyr vlwydyn am y vonwgyl," may have been brought later into association with the family of Moreiddig Warwyn whose descendants bore as arms three boys' heads, their necks entwined with snakes. The references to Elen luedyawc's finding of the true cross, and Lles who introduced Christianity into Britain, suggest the ecclesiastical influence. Great attention is paid to the maternal descents. The ancestry of "Gwyr y Gogledd" from Hengwrt MS. 536 contains the pedigrees of Urien Rheged and others who reigned over lands in the north of England and Scotland. These pedigrees are also recorded in the narrative or sentence form, and refer to men who lived about the sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

A word may be given here to "Hanesyn Hên," a seventeenth century transcript kept in the Cardiff Public Library.<sup>2</sup> It was copied from manuscripts written in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, while he was cooling his heels in the Fleet Prison, London, in the year 1640. Although we do not know how faithfully John Jones transcribed the pedigrees, and how near to the truth he was when he stated that the originals were compiled "about 400 years" (fo. 22) and "about 600 years" (fo. 31) previously, there can be no doubt from the text that the originals certainly belonged to the middle period of the Middle Ages. The format of the pedigrees (narrative and catalogue), the forms of the place- and personal names, the spelling, and the ancestors named, are all in harmony with other literary and genealogical works of those times. However, certain peculiarities of spelling and orthography much affected by John Jones, and sometimes easily detected, also appear in the body of the text, and until a careful study of the transcript reveals how much is Jones and how much is the original, it cannot be used safely as "contemporary" evidence. It is also complicated by the well-known fact that John Jones was fond of imitating archaic forms. Despite this, there is little doubt in my own mind that this transcript is a pretty faithful one, but until a critical study has been made of it, I am unable to admit it into court. It must have been a pleasant kind of incarceration where the inmates were able to carry on research work, and goes to prove how difficult it is to keep a Welshman animated with the spirit of genealogy from the yellow parchments of his forebears. If "Hanesyn Hên" is a genuine and accurate transcript, then it is of paramount importance, since it is *the only copy of a genealogical manuscript prior to 1450 which gives pedigrees of the Welsh "uchelwyr" and "bonheddig"* in addition to those of dynastic families. It also contains rubrics, a habit unknown to early Welsh genealogical compositions, and gives the pedigrees, sometimes under place-names, and sometimes under personal names. In any case, it is a valuable

<sup>1</sup> Printed as an appendix to Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (1868).

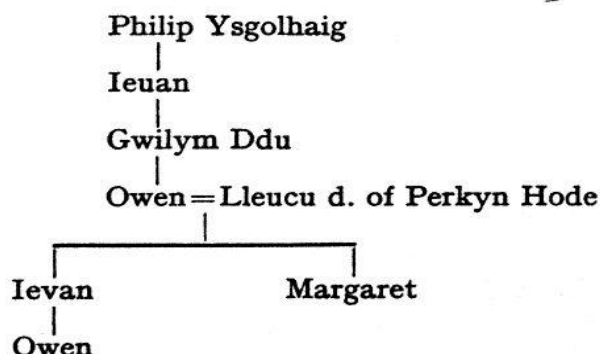
<sup>2</sup> Breeze MS. 25.

record, and should be edited and published by a competent Welsh scholar.

All the pedigrees of this period were written in narrative form, probably in order to save space, since parchment was expensive. Later in the fourteenth century, as a result of improvement in the breed of sheep, parchment became cheaper, with the result that there was less compression in the actual writing and a tendency to a greater freedom in expression. Paper was not used until the fifteenth century, and as a result of its comparative cheapness we find pedigrees beginning to appear in tabular form.

It is not without interest to notice the form of Welsh personal names during this period. In the early poems, bruts, and pedigrees, names were kept short, but now the records and manuscripts show that the names were given at greater length, to the dismay of contemporary lawyers and English officials perhaps, but to the delight of later genealogists. A deed, dated 1351, gives the name of a Brecon landowner as Howel Vachan ap Howel ap Howel ap Eynon, and in 1326 Ieuan Vaghan ap Ieuan ap Ithel ap Wasmihangel lived at Atpar in Cardiganshire. Two Carmarthenshire landowners of 1442 appear in an official record as Jankyn duy ap Gwalter ap Griffith ap Howell and Griffith ap David ap Jeuan ap Cadogan—thus their names preserved four generations, that is, some 150 years in terms of time.<sup>1</sup> It is important that those unacquainted with the history of Welsh surnames should appreciate the genealogical significance of these names. Other names described the social status of their owners. Walter Gwrda held a knight's fee in Keyston, Pembrokeshire, in 1250, and William Gourda held the same fee in 1324.

An example of a pedigree supported by long *ap* names recorded in deeds is found in the history of Owen of Henllys, Pembrokeshire. The part of the pedigree in question is as follows :—



<sup>1</sup> John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, in 1604–08, stated that he had copied material from the book of "my uncle Harri wynn ap Tomas ap Rrys ap Howel ap Ifan vychan ap Ifan ap Adda" (N.L.W. MS. 5277B, fo. 151) : that is, he records without any effort seven generations of his family—some 250 years in terms of time.

The following are the supporting evidences : (1) 1398, confirmation of a grant of lands in Cemes by David Lloyd ap David ap Ilewelyn ap Gwilym to Owen ap Gwillim Duy ap Ievan ap Philip Scolayg ; (2) 1430, grant of lands in Cemes by Gwyllym ap Eynon ap Howell to Owen ap Gwilym Duy and Lleucu his wife ; (3) 1442, grant of an *indult de plenaria remissione* to Owen vab Gwyllyn Dduy and [ ] merch Perkyn Hode, his wife ; (4) 1447, Owen ap Guillym Dduy granted lands to his grandson Owen ap Jevan ap Owen ap Gwillim, remainder to Jevan ap Oweyn (grantor's son), remainder to Margaret (grantor's daughter). A comparison of the pedigree as made from the information contained in these documents, with the pedigree of the family as recorded in Dwnn's *Visitations* (i, 157) in 1591, shows that the latter is accurate.

An example of how a pedigree and a coat of arms brought into association with a property deed helps to complete the picture is found in the early history of another Pembrokeshire family, Jones of Brawdy. The deed is a Final Concord in a Fine levied at the sessions of the Bishop of St. Davids, held at Newgale on 13th February, 1448-9, between David Sutton of Newgale plaintiff, and Philip David of Brawdy and Johanna Sutton his wife, defendants, in respect of lands (specified) in Brawdy and elsewhere in the episcopal barony of Pebidiog. The form of the deed shows it to have been a post-nuptial settlement. Nothing more has hitherto been found in legal records relating to Philip David and Johanna his wife, but Dwnn's *Visitations* (i, 196) produces the following pedigree :—

```

Philip
|
David
|
Harri = [Beaton] d. of Arnold Butler
|
Als, heiress of Brawdy = Richard Jones
[viv. 1546]                [ob. 1545]
    
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Now, the known dates of Als, shows that it was possible for her great-grandfather, Philip, to have been living in 1448 when the Final Concord was made : the deeds of the Brawdy estate show that the lands specified in the concord were owned by the family of Brawdy down to the present century : the well-known coat of arms of Sutton was marshalled by Jones of Brawdy. Thus there is a very strong presumptive evidence that the Philip of the pedigree is identical with the Philip [ap] David of the Final Concord, which also gives a further earlier ancestor (David). I suggest that in this case the absence of Dwnn's pedigree would not have permitted us to complete the story of the devolution of the property, and I suggest, further, that in this case, the pedigree as it stands is as authentic a record as the legal deed cited.



The genealogical evidence of the Middle Ages, though fragmentary, is sufficient to establish the fact that pedigrees occupied a prominent part in early Welsh life. Great care has to be taken in assessing the true value of the evidence that has survived. Yet these occasional glimpses establish the fact that a definite genealogical consciousness existed in Wales, and that it ran in unbroken course through those uncertain and turbulent centuries. We shall now pass on to a period when pedigree manuscripts are, fortunately, plentiful, and where we shall see the midsummer sun of Welsh genealogy in its full glory.

### III. THE GOLDEN AGE, 1450-1600.

Nor rough, nor barren, are the winding ways  
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers.

THOS. WHARTON.

The period 1450-1600 represents the golden age of Welsh genealogy. Genealogy and heraldry had received a fillip as a result of the accession of the Tudors, the ennobling of the Welsh Herberts and the Cecils, the entry of Welshmen in large numbers into the royal service, and later by the Act of Union, the establishment of courts of Great Sessions, Welsh representation in parliament, and several other factors which we shall consider as we examine the period in greater detail. The bards seized upon these things, particularly upon the fact that Welshmen held official posts, and sang their praises in the *cywyddau moliant* and *marwnadau*. During this period, and despite many non-Welsh influences, the genealogists mostly remained true to the Welsh tradition, and their work has a distinctly native flavour. They were as yet untrammelled by the authority of the College of Arms, although quite a number of arms had been officially granted to Welshmen, and at least one, Foulke ap Howel, had become a herald. But towards the end of this period the bards had shot their bolt, and their nationalism faded away. It was an age that saw the passing of the old way of life and the introduction of new values. It is the richest period of our genealogical history, and divides itself into two parts. In the first, the school of Guttun Owain dominated genealogy and armory and laid a firm foundation of future practice in those arts. In the second, the school of Griffith Hiraethog controlled and directed thought and practice. Both Guttun and Griffith were men of outstanding ability and attracted to themselves disciples of great talents. To the school of Guttun Owain, belong Gwilym Tew, Ieuan Brechfa, Hywel Swardwal, Lewis Morgannwg, Ieuan Deulwyn, and those outstanding bards Lewis Glyn Cothi and Tudur Aled. They derived their inspiration from the old native tradition, the Catholic way of life, the *uchelwyr* and *bonheddig*, and from the lingering memories of the *tywysogion*. In the school of Griffith Hiraethog we find men like Simwnt Vychan, Wiliam Cynwal, Rhys Cain, and Griffith Dwnn.

Several of these had been bred in the pre-Dissolution culture, but their maturity was spent in the days of the new faith and the new outlook. Although this latter school was also steeped in the native tradition and showed complete mastery of the old craft, we find evidences of the new world in their writings: the acceptance of Protestantism, the authority of the College of Arms, etc. We also find several echoes of the old Wales in their writings, but before 1600 the giant Hiraethog was dead and his company of bardic-genealogists gave way to men like George Owen of Henllys, Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate, and others who adopted a new technique.

Fortunately many records of this period have survived, and for the first time in our survey we have sufficient material at our disposal to enable us to arrive at a fair estimate of values. In these manuscripts we also find glimpses of earlier genealogical records (quoted in support of pedigrees) which have long since disappeared from our archives. Before we proceed further it will be useful to summarize the influences which so decisively marked the conduct of the people of this period:—

(1) *The Wars of the Roses.* This caused Welshmen to take sides, and involved a considerable section of Welsh Wales in what had previously been English baronial politics. These wars turned the faces of the Welshmen towards the east, and several Welsh families like the Herberts, the Vaughans, and the Kynastons, suddenly came to the fore as "Welsh barons" and overshadowed the native stay-at-home *bonheddig*. Wales, in the main, was aligned on the Lancastrian side.

(2) *The accession of the Tudors.* This set the seal on the trends that the Wars of the Roses had begun. Wales looked more than ever towards England, and the "place-seeking" under the English rule that was to become so prominent in later years was firmly established. The Welsh people persuaded themselves that the crowning of Henry VII was the fulfilment of the old prophecies that the blood of Cadwalader would again be set over these islands. Although Henry VII was constantly engaged in subduing troubles and consolidating his gains, he found time to institute inquiries into his Welsh ancestry. Bluff King Hal revealed his Welsh nature in a fuller degree. In his youth his skill as an athlete and as a contender in the lists proclaimed that here was a worthy son of those ancient *bonheddig* who had mastered the *pedwar-camp-ar-hugain*. He was also a competent herald and genealogist, and it is not generally known that for a time he was the Earl Marshal of England, and as such, presided over the College of Arms. For his practical interest in heraldry, see Mr. Wagner's *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, chapter ix.

(3) *The Dissolution.* The closing down of the religious houses had a deep effect on the Welsh character. The monks and the brothers, as secular landowners as well as spiritual mentors, had

wielded a great influence. They had encouraged the bards and had assisted in the writing of genealogical and other records, while their libraries had helped to preserve them. The Church had also provided education and had established schools and colleges, and the valuable work done by the clergy in medieval education does not appear to have been given the prominence it deserves.<sup>1</sup> This education formed the background of Guttun Owain and his school, and also formed the influences of the early life of Griffith Hiraethog and his disciples.

(4) *The Act of Union, 1536.* This had a far-reaching influence on Welsh life, and thenceforth the political outlook became purely English. The *bonheddig* turned his back on the customs and ways of his fathers, and took his place at Westminster, and after a while became indistinguishable from his English brethren. Wales was now divided into shires, and Welshmen became qualified to take part in local administration as magistrates. But the most important change was the abolition of gavelkind and the substitution of primogeniture according to the English tenure. This broke up the Welsh aristocratic groups of landowning families, and as the native system was already in decay, the Tudor lawyers found little difficulty in fitting in the English system. Generally speaking, they respected the rights of the *bonheddig* who were allowed to remain as freeholders, paying quit-rents to the Crown, normally of a nominal nature. The problem of the non-*bonheddig* was solved by the granting of renewable leases. Thus, the new system was gently rather than violently superimposed on the old. This had a direct influence on Welsh genealogies, for it broke up the family groups as economic units, and rendered pedigrees unnecessary for the purposes of gavelkind, *galanas*, and *sarhaad*. However, the Court of Great Sessions did much to preserve Welsh genealogy. In those courts a very large number of challenge pedigrees, recorded in sentence form in the Plea Roll, and in tabular form in the Gaol Files and the Prothonotary Papers, were entered, and these concerned minor families as well as those of the more prominent landlords. Although the purpose of these pedigrees differed entirely from those of the gavelkind-*galanas* type, their value as genealogical records are equally high. As they were sworn on oath their value is considerable. They were sometimes compiled by lawyers and by professional genealogists, and one country gentleman in the seventeenth century petitioned for jury-relief on the ground that he was busily employed in drawing up these pedigrees for his litigious neighbours! The establishment of these courts opened a new field of activity to younger sons of Welsh families, and a very large number became flourishing attorneys. Litigation was regarded almost as an heirloom in Welsh families, and few avoided recourse to law at some time or another. This proved a boon, not only to the younger sons,

<sup>1</sup> See Bede Jarrett, *Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200-1500* (1926).



but to many English lawyers as well. There are dozens of examples of English attorneys practising in these courts and amassing comfortable fortunes. Having succeeded in making money, these gentlemen then cast around for Welsh heiresses or younger daughters with respectable portions, and a glance at Welsh pedigrees shows that this search was not made in vain.

(5) *The redistribution of property.* This led to the rise of great families who profited by the Dissolution. One of the results of the abolition of gavelkind was that a number of smaller *bonheddig* sold out to their richer brethren and became submerged in the lower class later to be known as *gwerin*. Trading ventures enriched many families who invested their profits in land, built new houses, and introduced new fashions. It was a period that commenced changing the old Welsh *bonheddig* into an English country squire.

Another subject which calls for attention was the new outlook on arms and pedigrees. Mr. Wagner in his *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* has shown how, in England, the Visitations developed from the earlier rolls and books of arms. He shows that the primary purpose of the earlier Visitations was armorial, and that it was only much later (in the sixteenth century) the custom of recording genealogical particulars was practised. Two interesting examples relating to Wales are typical of this development. A Visitation by William Ballard (fl. 1460-85) "Marche kyng of armys of the West of England Walis and Cornewale," includes South Wales (Coll. of Arms MS. M 3). It recorded the arms and names of heads of families and also important information relating to their possessions, tenures, and services, particularly those of Glamorgan and Monmouth. It sometimes gives the number of sons. But of genealogy there is nothing. It is one of the earliest known armorials of Welsh families. Some fifty or sixty years later, in 1530, William Fellowe, Lancaster herald, made "A Vysytacon in Walys," but it deals with South Wales alone (Coll. of Arms MS. H 8). This manuscript, in addition to giving the arms of heads of families, also contains short pedigrees, but it is clear that the primary purpose was still armorial, although genealogy, on a small scale, was now beginning to be included. The medieval English heralds were armorists first and foremost, and genealogy was an afterthought.

Now, in Wales, the reverse was the case. Genealogy was the primary consideration of the Welsh, and no rolls or books of arms have been found among Welsh manuscripts prior to 1500. It is true that some of the later medieval poets, particularly L. G. Cothi, had noted coats of arms, but the emphasis, even in those heraldic poets, is quite clearly on pride of pedigree rather than on blazonry. In Wales the pedigree was the thing, and heraldry was a later addition to it. In Wales, the bard was paid a fee for the pedigree-poem; in England, the herald received his fee for the arms alone. This interesting difference between the English and Welsh attitude is worthy of closer examination than I am able to devote to it here.

Those were the main features forming the background of the Tudor period, and when we examine the genealogical history of those formative years in the light of the background we are able to appreciate the methods and practices adopted by the genealogists.

(a) *The School of Guttun Owain.*

The central figure of the first part of the Golden Age was Guttun Owain who flourished between 1450 and 1530. He had inherited the traditions of native Wales although he hailed from a part of the country which was in close contact with the *advenae*.<sup>1</sup> Little is known of his ancestry, but he is said to have been the son of Huw ab Owain, a native of Maelor Saesneg, Flintshire, and Guttun's poem to his kinsman John, abbot of Llan Egwestl, shows that he was of *bonheddig* stock. He is said to have learnt the bardic art from Dafydd ab Edmwn of Hanmer, whom he accompanied to the Carmarthen eisteddfod in 1451. He was closely associated with Basingwerk Abbey, and several of his works clearly show the Church influence. The manuscript "Llyfr Du Basing"<sup>2</sup> was mostly written by him. His works reveal that he was a fine poet,<sup>3</sup> a chronicler, and a genealogist, and, like all the members of the bardic profession, he had a wide knowledge of traditional lore and the conventional stock-in-trade with its references to history, the Bible, and the Mabinogi. Among the earliest employments of any official nature that he undertook was to assist in tracing the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors, which has been published in Wynne's *History of Wales*, and in the preface to the first volume of Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations*. This pedigree is given in much greater detail in B.M. Royal MS. 18 A, lxxv, which was examined by "the abbatt of llynegwestill maister Doctor even pole syr John lyaff p[rie]st, Guttyn Owen, Robt ap hoell ap Thomas John king madoc ap lln ap hoell & Gruff ap lln vuchan w<sup>e</sup> hathe founde and proved this good & true lynaige." The pedigree follows the old Welsh method and is written in English (obviously translated from a Welsh original) in the narrative form. It contains elements familiar to students of the earlier Welsh pedigrees and is unhesitatingly traced to Brutus, and it would appear from it that the Tudors were not only descended from the Welsh princes and great family groups, but from all the heroes of classical and Biblical antiquity. The manuscript contains much interesting material omitted from the printed versions, and reveals the characteristic form of speculation relating to place-names, etc. It also contains material that may have an historical basis, and several marginal references to sources of information, e.g. "old petygree," "by gyttyn owen is boke," "by Wyllm dd ap gruff boke," "by mad' ap lln ap hoell boke," etc. The name of Guttun Owain occurs as

<sup>1</sup> "Guttun Owain ymaelor"—Dwnn, op cit., Vol. I, p. 7; Vol. II, p. 97. See also *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Now N.L.W. MS. 7006D: a conventional history.

<sup>3</sup> Fifteen of his poems have been printed in *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru*.

authority for statements with a greater frequency than any other genealogist in this pedigree. He and Ieuan Brechfa wrote parts of Peniarth MS. 131 (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), an important genealogical manuscript. It is interesting to note that one of the earliest references to "Pymtheg llwyth Gwynedd"<sup>1</sup> is in this manuscript, and from what I can find, the grouping of these families under their well-known patronymics was first made in the period 1450-1500.<sup>2</sup> It is of further interest to find the words *Tri brenhin llwyth* (not *pump*) occurring in this manuscript (fo. 123).<sup>3</sup> The genealogical terminology of this manuscript consists of *bonedd*, *gwehelyth*, *kyrenydd*, *kyff*, *uchelwyr*, *gwyr*, *ceddl*, *llwyth*, *gwelygord*, and *gwaed goruchel*. Earlier authorities are also quoted, e.g. "ynn llyfr Gr: ap dd: einionn y kefais yr achoedd hynn," etc. The pedigrees are mainly in narrative form, but a few appear in tabular form. Pedigrees of the mothers, which amused Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans so much, are also a feature of the work. The numerical groupings are typical of medieval learning: "*pum* achos," etc. (fo. 50b), "*Tair* gwraig Vrychan" (fo. 112), "*pump* plas tomas [Mostyn]" (fo. 155), etc. It is possible that this numerical grouping common to all ancient learning (cf. the twelve apostles, seven plagues, etc.), and which was particularly developed in the Middle Ages, may have suggested the now familiar five royal tribes of Wales<sup>4</sup> and the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd. It is a mistake to describe any of the protonyms as "founders." In a recent essay<sup>5</sup> Iestyn ap Gwrgan has been described as "Founder of the V Royal Tribe." Now, much is known of

<sup>1</sup> The names and precedence of the fifteen protonyms vary in the three earliest known lists—those of B.M. Add. MS. 14919, Guttun Owain and Griffith Hiraethog. It was not until the time of Lewis Dwnn that they received their final form. Great discrepancies occur in their coats of arms and some of them have never been finally decided. There were, for instance, four different men called Iarddur, three Gwaethfoeds, two Einions ap Collwyn, and their identification has been, and is still, an unsolved problem.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest known *dated record* containing the actual words "Pymtheg-llwyth Gwynedd" is B.M. Add. MS. 14919 (A.D. 1493). That there were genuine family groups in early Wales is certain, and there is evidence in the medieval surveys and other documents to establish their existence. The identification of the "fifteen" is another matter. Judge Ellis in his book has very ably drawn up certain short tribal pedigrees, but whether he is correct in every instance where he "hooks" them on to protonyms that became popular in the sixteenth century is by no means clear.

<sup>3</sup> The statement by Robert Vaughan in *British Antiquities Revived* (1662) that there were originally only three kingly stocks in this grouping appears to have been based on some authority. However, his "reasons" why they were increased to five may be dismissed as unhistorical speculation. They are sometimes called "Pump Eurbost Cymru." It is not certain whether all of them were historical personages. The writer of Mostyn MS. 212B (1550-1600) says of Elystan Glodrudd: "... a chronigl yn y byd nis adwen yn dwyn kofadyriaeth am dano eithr jachau ac arfau" (fo. 62).

<sup>4</sup> Students of Welsh history need hardly be reminded that there were many other dynastic stocks in early Wales, of equal, if not greater, lustre than the selected "five."

<sup>5</sup> *The Welsh Review*, Autumn, 1948, p. 199.



Iestyn's history, and it is quite clear that he was the *wrecker* of his family not its "Founder." This treacherous scoundrel, having been the cause of the defeat and death of the good Rhys ap Tewdwr, failed to fulfil his obligations to his own supporters, with the result that, very rightly, he was hounded out of polite society by the Normans, who occupied most of his territory. Yet this scamp is often described as the "Founder" of the fifth royal tribe!

One important feature is observable in Peniarth MS. 131. While several of the pedigrees are mere copies of older ones, Guttun was responsible for initiating many new ones, and his other manuscripts show the same tendency. He was not a mere copyist. He also wrote Peniarth MS. 186 (late fifteenth century), which is a calendar of saints' days. In 1455-56 he compiled Llanstephan MS. 28, which contains theology, *kerdd dafod*, *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, *Bonedd y Saint*, pedigrees, etc.—subjects that are found in all the later manuscripts of this class. He is the probable author of the history of the world from Adam to 1471 in Jesus College MS. 6, where sources of information are quoted. The Harl. MS. 1970, fos. 34-59, contains a number of extremely important pedigrees and historical notices in the holograph of Thomas Chaloner (early seventeenth century), who states that he copied them from a book written by Guttun Owain.<sup>1</sup> The B. M. Add. MS. 14967 contains several poems by Guttun Owain (fos. 46-82), while on fo. 244 is a life of St. Martin in Welsh, with the note "John Trevor a droes y vvchedd honn or lladin yn gymraec a gvttn owain a hysgrivennodd pam oedd oed krist mil cccclxxxviii." In, or shortly after, 1500, he wrote Peniarth MS. 129, which is mainly of a genealogical nature, and is of especial interest since it contains the earliest known reference to the words *gwhelythav y Mars* (the tribes of the Marches, i.e. Tudor Trevor). The term "Llwythav y Mars" is also used by Sir Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deicws in 1510, as a heading to the Tudor Trevor pedigrees.<sup>2</sup> It also contains pedigrees of the mothers and also those of the mothers of the mothers, of certain Welsh families. The object of such detail about maternal descents here is quite clear, namely to show that certain people were descended from several other notable ancestors not traceable through the main male line. The data on fo. 22 relating to Cunedda Wledig shows that Guttun was relying on older manuscripts for his information in that particular pedigree. Several later authors acknowledged their indebtedness to the industry and ability of Guttun, and the writer of Llanstephan MS. 156 (1630-68) wrote: "Guttyn Owain p[enkerdd] o Vaelawr—perffaith a theg yw i Lyvrav."

Guttun's poetry followed the established convention, and shows that he was a complete master of his craft. He kept genealogy as

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Wanley, speaking of the reference by Chaloner to Guttun's MS., stated on 9th December, 1718: "The original book of Guttan Owen is now in the possession of my worthy friend, Mr. Moses Williams."

<sup>2</sup> Peniarth MS. 127, fo. 107d.

a separate subject and did not include it in his *cynghanedd* on any appreciable scale. His *marwnad* to Dafydd Llwyd of Bodidris contained no reference whatsoever to the pride of ancestry which is so marked a feature of the works of some of his contemporaries. However, he did occasionally include brief references to blood and ancestors. In his *marwnad* to Hên Dudur Llwyd of Bodidris he wrote :—

Tudur waed Tewdwr ydoedd  
A phen aig cyff Ieuan oedd  
Derfel o gorph Llywelyn  
Derw a gae lle bu durgwyn.

· · ·  
Ni bu mor arab heb mam  
A Thudur, o lwyth Adam.

In his *cywydd* to Howel ap Dafydd ap Ithel Fychan of Llaneurgain he referred to remote ancestors :—

Dâr o Edwin, dewr ydwyd.

· · ·  
Gŵr o waed goreu ydwyd  
Gwin ddail Owain Gwynedd wyd ;  
Dy frodyr, rhyswyr yw'r rhain,  
Derwgoed plwyf a gwlad Eurgain ;  
Aeron o hen gyffion gynt  
Elyrch Idwal Iwrch ydynt.

As we expected, he addressed a few poems to the higher clergy, some of whom were his patrons and friends. His *cywydd* to the abbot David of Llan Egwestl contains no genealogical information, but in his *cywydd* to Thomas ap David Pennant, abbot of Basingwerk, his feelings got the better of him and he wrote :—

I swydd uwch, drwy Iesu'dd êl,  
A gradd achos gwraidd uchel  
Gwelch y Dons, gwal a choed ynt  
Gwraidd iddo gwraidd oeddynt  
Galw Edwin ac Elidir  
Gwaed Rhys Sais yn goed tros Sir.

The ancestry of John ap Richard, abbot of Llan Egwestl, also inspired Guttun's muse. The reason for this was that Guttun was a member of the same family, and he employed the *cynghanedd* to impress that fact upon the good prelate. He wrote :—

Un waed rieni ydwyf,  
Nai i chwi o'r un âch wyf ;  
Meredydd o Ruffydd rym,  
O'n teidiau, cerynt ydym ;  
Wyr Ednyfed a Iorwerth  
O flodau Nannau a'i nerth.

Unfortunately, details of his life are lacking, but his works show that he was an outstanding genealogist, and he exercised a great influence on his time and also on the writers that succeeded him. Guttun Owain, or Gruffydd ap Hugh ap Owain to give him his full name, is stated to have been buried at Llanfarthin<sup>1</sup> about the year 1530.

<sup>1</sup> *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru*, ed. 1864.

The authenticity of the poetic pedigrees is well established. It was a duty of the bards to write elegies on the death of their patrons, and they cleverly wove the pedigrees of the departed into their poetic effusions. Mr. Evan D. Jones of Aberystwyth informs me that there was a fixed fee for such poems, and where the pedigree of the wife or widow was also expressed, this fee was increased. As these poems were recited in open hall, the pedigrees became public property, and so the bards would hardly produce spurious family trees under such circumstances. The earlier portions of the pedigrees in the poems are clearly conventional, but the descents from the twelfth century appear, generally, to be factual.

We will now review, briefly, the contemporaries of Guttun Owain, and their contribution to genealogy. Of some of them we know little beyond their names; of others, we have fuller information. At the beginning of the period we note Cynwrig ap Gronw (c. 1450).<sup>1</sup>

Another, Griffith ab Ieuan ap Llewelyn Vychan, assisted Guttun Owain to make out the royal Tudor pedigree, and, according to Dr. W. O. Pughe, he was an important landowner who lived on his estate at Llanarth, Denbighshire.<sup>2</sup> Two South Walians of considerable merit were Ieuan Brechfa and Gwilym Tew, both of whom lived about 1430–1500. A native of the Brechfa district, Carmarthenshire, Ieuan is said to have written an epitome of Welsh history, printed in the second volume of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*. According to Sir S. R. Meyrick some of Ieuan's heraldic manuscripts were at Brogyntyn about the middle of the last century.<sup>3</sup> Together with Guttun Owain he wrote Peniarth MS. 131 as already indicated. We find several references to him in later manuscripts. Thus, in "Llyfr Edward ap Roger" (Peniarth MS. 128, fo. 850), the pedigree of Urien Rheged contains the following note: "llyfr Ieuan brechfai ai dowad." On fo. 51 of Mostyn MS. 134 his name is also quoted as an authority: "Ieuan Brechva ap Jerorth a sgrivennodd hyn o gyfrwydhyd"—this gives his father's name but it is not sufficient for us to establish his kindred. On pp. 26–7 of Volume I of Dwnn's *Visitations* are some thirty-one pedigrees of South Wales families, and Dwnn has observed: "These genealogies were written by Ieuan Brechfa in a black parchment book for Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G." The writer of Llanstephan MS. 156 was also indebted to him, and on fo. 9 we read: "Ieuan Brechfa ynehevbarth—i Lyfre a welais gida Hûw ap D o Gydweli . . . a dysg fawr a gefais yntynt." Of Gwilym Tew (c. 1430–70) we know a little more. In Peniarth MS. 178, fo. 42, is an entry of his pedigree which shows that poetry was a family pursuit: "Gwilym tew prydydd a phenkerdd ap Rys brydydd ap J ap ho'l"; and "Llyfr Sion Brooke" (Wrexham MS. 1)

<sup>1</sup> Dwnn, op cit., Vol. I, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> See *Detholiad o Waith Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llewelyn Fychan*, ed. J. C. Morrice. Bangor, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Dwnn, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. xii, 7; Vol. II, p. 97.



also names his father, "Rhys brydydd." Peniarth MS. 51 (c. 1460)<sup>1</sup> was mostly written by Gwilym Tew. A late fifteenth century fragmentary pedigree in N. L. W. Poyston DD (No. 12) states that it was extracted from the "Black Book" of Gwilym Tew. A manuscript written about 1250 (Cardiff MS. 1), containing Aneurin's poems, had been studied by Gwilym Tew and Dafydd Nanmor, whose names occur in the margins of that manuscript. On fo. 6 of Harl. MS. 2414 (late sixteenth century, by Llewelyn Sion) is an acknowledgment to the works of Gwilym Tew.

To this period belongs Howel Swrdwal (1430-60) of Cydywain, who is stated in *Llyfr Baglan* (p. 225) to have helped to make out the Herbert pedigree. According to Llanstephan MS. 156, fo. 9, "Howel Swrdwal M.A. penkerdd—a wnaeth Rhol deg o Adda hyd at Edw: I yn lladin or holl frenhinoedd, ag ef a wnaeth llyfr kronig kymraeg y sydd gidag O. Gwynedd."<sup>2</sup> He was also a fine poet, and collections of his works are preserved in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> One of his poems contains a reference to a form of pedigree that became very popular some 150 years later, namely the "Wyth Rhan Rhieni." In his *mawl* to Thomas ap Edward, he wrote:—

dy wyth ach dithau uwch oedd  
obry oi henwau brenhinoedd  
mab Brychan a Gwgan gynt  
Moreiddig Cymry oeddynt.

It is interesting to note that his bardic qualities were transmitted to his son Ieuan, who practised from about 1450 to 1480.

John Leiaf was a priestly genealogist, but beyond stating that he took a hand in producing the royal Tudor pedigree, the records are silent concerning him. Of Sir John Powys, another priest, we know that he wrote a genealogical and heraldic manuscript in 1514, and which was used by Sir Thomas Wiliems towards the end of Elizabeth's reign (Mostyn MS. 113, fo. 161). About the same year, yet another parson, Sir Hugh Pennant, compiled a manuscript of pedigrees, *Bonedd y Saint*, vocabularies, etc. (Peniarth MS. 182). Another representative of the Church in this field was Sir Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deicws, a clergyman of good *bonheddig* stock whose contribution to the literature of the early sixteenth century has been investigated by Mr. Thomas Jones.<sup>3</sup> Hywel ap Sir Mathew, son of a priest, flourished towards the end of Guttun Owain's period, and according to the *Heraldic Visitations*, Vol. II, p. 97, he was alive as late as 1560. He was one of the teachers of Dwnn, who

<sup>1</sup> Owain Gwynedd, bard to Lewis Owen of Dolgelle (murdered 1555). He was a disciple of Griffith Hiraethog.

<sup>2</sup> Published in *Gwaith Barddonol Howel Swrdwal a'i fab Ieuan*, ed. J. C. Morrice. Bangor, 1908. See also Williams, *Eminent Welshmen*. For an useful index of his works and those of other bards see *Mynegai i Farddoniaeth y Llawysgrifau* by E. J. L. Jones and H. Lewis, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.*, 1946; see Peniarth MSS. 127, 134, and B.M. Add. MS. 12193. The publication, *in toto*, of Peniarth MS. 127 (c. 1510) would be a welcome addition to Welsh literature.

later possessed several of his manuscripts, and who described him as "Penkerdd o Brydydd ac achwr da." Llanstephan MS. 46 contains a transcript by him of the familiar heraldic treatise ("megis y darparodd," etc.). The author of Llanstephan MS. 156 wrote in 1630-68 that he owned some of Hywel's works.

Welsh genealogical conventions were sometimes applied to English pedigrees, and in 1510 Sir Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deicws gave the pedigrees of the mothers of Richard Duke of York, Richard Mortimer, Lionel Duke of Clarence, etc. These are contained in Peniarth MS. 127, one of the most important genealogical compilations of this period. It contains the "pump brenhinllwyth," "Xv llwyth Gwynedd," "llwythev y Mars," "pump kostowglwyth kymry," and "tair beriach gwynedd," as well as other artificial numerical groupings. On fo. 70 Sir Thomas states that there was some doubt about the pedigree of the mother of Helin ap Syr Tudor who traced to Beli ap Run ap Maelgwn Gwynedd. Failing to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion the worthy priest was sufficiently honest not to attempt a fictitious explanation. He says: "Yn yr ach honn y mae ymravael . . . ystoria Gildas a ddywaid beli ap Einion ap Maelgwn. A llyfrav hen achoedd a ddywaid beli ap Rvn ap Maelgwn. Ac ni vedrais i dorri yr ymrysson hwnnw, ac am hynny mi ai gadaf ymarn y darlleawdr." (See also Mostyn MS. 117, c. 1285-1300, where the selfsame point is queried.)

Lewis Morgannwg, who flourished between 1500 and 1560, was a genealogist and bard of importance. He came from *bonheddig* stock, and from his pedigree in Peniarth MS. 178 (fo. 41) it would appear that the muse had also presided at the births of his father and grandfather. The pedigree, which traces him to eminent landowners, is as follows: "Lewys Morganwc penkerdd ac athro kelvyddyd kerdd davawd drwy holl Gymrv yr hwn a Elwir Lln ap Rissart morganwg prydydd a phenkerdd ap Rys brydydd penkerdd o gelvyddyd kerdd davawd ap J ap ho'l ap R: vychan ap R voel ap Rys goch ap Rickert ap einion ap gollwyn ap ednowain." He is also said to have presided at the Glamorgan *eisteddfod* in 1520.<sup>1</sup> It was he who granted a bardic certificate to Griffith Hiraethog in 37 Henry VIII.<sup>2</sup> He wrote parts of the important genealogical manuscript Peniarth MS. 132, and it is stated in Llanstephan MS. 156 (fo. 9) that his books were given to "Mevrig D a D Benwyn."

Some of the *bonheddig* also participated in the genealogical industry of the period without becoming bards or professional practitioners. Among these was Rhys ap Owen of Henllys in Pembrokeshire, grandfather of the well-known George Owen, and copies of pedigrees made by him are preserved in Llanstephan MS. 130 and Egerton MS. 2586. The patrons of Lewis Glyn Cothi were also knowledgeable in genealogies.

<sup>1</sup> Dwinn, *op cit.*, Vol. II, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> peniarth MS. 194.

The men who did most to popularize the genealogy and heraldry of the early part of the Golden Age were the bards, and, fortunately, much of their works has survived. These were Lewis Glyn Cothi, Tudur Aled, Dafydd Nanmor, and Ieuan Deulwyn. The poems of this brilliant school have already been published, and their value in genealogical and heraldic studies has been long realized by Welshmen. Robert Vaughan, George William Griffith, William Lewes, and others, whose works are still (unfortunately) mainly unpublished, often quoted from them, and the footnotes of Sir S. R. Meyrick to Dwnn's *Visitations* clearly demonstrate the value of such evidence. These bards in order of time were: Lewis Glyn Cothi (c. 1430–c. 1490),<sup>1</sup> Dafydd Nanmor (fl. 1480),<sup>2</sup> Ieuan Deulwyn (ob. c. 1500),<sup>3</sup> and Tudur Aled c. 1465–1526.<sup>4</sup>

The works of Lewis Glyn Cothi are rich in genealogical references and heraldic blazonry. Most of his poems are either eulogies or elegies to well-known Welsh *bonheddig*, and it is clear that he had a complete knowledge of the family trees and coats of arms. Although he knew all about the great Welsh princes and notable ancestors, he knew nothing of the five royal tribes and the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd, and the earliest references found to these suggest that the groupings took place after the time of Cothi. His published works contain some forty-five descriptions of arms, and poems in Peniarth MSS. 40 and 109, said to be in his autograph, are headed by the emblazoned shields of the *bonheddig* to whom the poems are dedicated.<sup>5</sup> He also wrote purely genealogical poems<sup>6</sup> and was familiar with the tract of arms translated by John Trevor some half a century previously.<sup>7</sup> His poems were written to several leaders who participated in the Wars of the Roses, and several references are found in his verses to this internecine warfare. He was an educated and intelligent man, and his works show a thorough acquaintance with medieval Welsh and classical learning. His name suggests that he was a Carmarthenshire man.

Dafydd Nanmor took his title from his native district of the Nanmor valley near Beddgelert. He was in his prime about the year 1480. His poems show an intimate knowledge of genealogy and cognate matters. He became the family bard of *arglwyddi'r Towyn* in south Cardiganshire, descendants of the prince Gwynfardd Dyfed, and his poems, apart from their genealogical content, contain much important social and economic history.

<sup>1</sup> *Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi*, 1837, two vols.

<sup>2</sup> *The Poetical Works of Dafydd Nanmor*, Roberts and Williams.

<sup>3</sup> *Casgliad o Waith Ieuan Deulwyn*, I. Williams, 1902.

<sup>4</sup> *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, T. Gwynn Jones, 1926, two vols.

<sup>5</sup> See *Radnor Society Trans.*, 1936, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Peniarth MS. 109: "Owdyl Ho' ap Ystyfyn ai arveu" (fo. 27); "cywydd âch dd goz ap Mer' ap M." (fo. 99).

<sup>7</sup> See B.M. Stowe MS. 669.



Ieuan Deulwyn was a contemporary of Lewis Glyn Cothi, and his published works show that he wove the genealogies of his patrons into his poems. Although he did not employ genealogy and heraldry on so lavish a scale as Cothi, his poems show that his inspiration came from similar quarters. Ieuan was familiar with "llwyth Urien," "hil ssiankyn llwyd," and one of the finest compliments he could pay to his patrons was to say that they were "tebig ir bonnheddig hen." When writing to Sir William Herbert of Coldbrook, whose father had married Margaret daughter of Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas of Newton, he employed his knowledge of armory very prettily to signify the union :—

llewod sey briod a brain  
lle prioded llew prydain  
y vrann wenn aeth y venni  
brann ayr merch yn brenin ni.

Tudur Aled, descended from Hedd ab Alunawg, was the last of the old line of aristocratic poets. Born about 1465–70 in North Wales, he ended his life in 1526 as family bard to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and was buried in the Friars at Carmarthen. He had family associations with bardism, his mother being a daughter of Dafydd ab Edmwnt. It is suggested that he had also taken priestly orders, and his poems certainly show his love for the Church. He addressed poems to native *bonheddig* and also to *advenae* like the Salusburys and others who had become Welshmen in everything but surname. But he regarded the purity of Welsh blood as superior to that of the mixed breed, and sang :—

Bonedd Gwynedd a genais  
Blodau'r sir heb ledryw Sais.

He was not always sure that the pedigrees of the *advenae* would stand close scrutiny :—

Be chwilid pob ach aliwn  
Bylchau'n âch beilchion a wn.

Although he lived in the age that saw the numerical grouping of the fifteen tribes, it is noteworthy that he did not consider it necessary to sing their praises. He mentions some five of them by name (Ednowain Bendew, Iarddur, Marchudd, Marchweithian, and Hedd), but gives greater prominence to Elystan, Philip Dorddu, Rhirid Flaidd, Urien, Rhys Gryg, and other ancestors with a true historical origin. Only in one poem does he approach the genealogical format ("I Feibion Sion Salbri," No. XXIII). His poems clearly indicate the passing of the old order. He refers several times to Welshmen forming large estates along the English lines, and many of his patrons were already office-holders in the English service. With him passed the old native tradition at its best, and his death marks the end of the glorious period of the school of Guttun Owain.

Before we examine the period in which Griffith Hiraethog stands out like a veritable giant, it will be profitable to notice the changes that were taking place and the influences that were being felt in Welsh life during the first part of the Golden Age. The native elements were the Church, the *neithior*, the *eisteddfod*, and the Welsh land tenure which was showing signs of decay.

The Church continued to be an important element in Welsh life, and the poetry and manuscripts of the period show the influence of the saint, the Virgin, and the abbot. The veneration for the saints, particularly for Saint Anna, and the Virgin, was still characteristic of Welshmen. Lewis Glyn Cothi in a poem to William Sion *alias* William Egwad shows that the *bonheddig* were in the habit of holding anniversary festivals in the honour of saints, at their *plasdai*. Cothi intended being present at the festival in William Sion's house in honour of Saint Egwad, and his *cynganedd* shows that the reading of chronicles and histories, and the study of pedigrees, formed part of the festival :—

Darllen art arall yn well  
Darllen ystoria wellwell.  
Hanes, drw'r sions a drig,  
Achau'r ynys a'i chronig ;  
A'r hengerdd ar hyn o gov  
A rhieingerdd o'r hengov.

Hywel Swardwal's "Cywydd i Fair Wryr" and Harri ap Rhys ap Gwilym's "Cywydd i Fair a'i Mab" show the Welsh love for the Holy Family. Poems on these subjects had become conventional in the same way that "Cywydd y Farn" became a conventional subject in the later Protestant days. We have noted how in the sixth century Welsh families were claiming kinship with the Virgin, and in the sixteenth century this was made the subject of satire by the cynical gentlemen who dwelt to the east of Offa's Dyke. Thus, in a poem published in 1542, a Welshman is made to say :—

I am a gentylman, and come of Brutes blood,  
My name is ap Ryce ap Davy ap Flood,  
I love our Lady, for I am of hyr kynne,  
He that doth not love hyr, I be-shrew his chynne.<sup>1</sup>

The conventional pedigrees tracing to Brutus and the Biblical characters still held their place. Ellis Gruffydd in 1527 did not omit "y dissgynedigaeth o Adda hyd at Vrutus" (Cardiff MS. 5, fo. 105), and similar trees were included in most manuscripts. The Welsh names also became longer, but some of the more important people who were in close contact with official life adopted permanent surnames such as the Herberts and the Cecils. What complicated matters was that brothers often adopted different permanent surnames, such as Andrew Powell the Welsh judge (*ob.* 1631), who took his surname from the name of his grandfather, Howel, while the judge's elder brother, Thomas Jones of Trostrey, Monmouthshire,

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Boorde, *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, 1542.

was so called from their father, John ap David ap Howel. But generally speaking the Welsh continued to carry their pedigrees in their nomenclature. Often, owing to the similarity of names or the necessity of proving a relationship, a man might bear not only his father's name, but also some half a dozen names of his lineal agnatic ancestors. For example in 1542, one John ap William ap David ap Ieuan ap David ap Philip of Trecwn in Pembrokeshire, was party to a deed with John ap David ap Owen ap David ap Gwilym. Thus every time John ap William, etc., gave his name he recited in one breath an accurate pedigree of six generations, which in terms of time covered about two centuries.

There are two matters worthy of mention in connection with Welsh names of the sixteenth century. The first is the abandonment of the fine old traditional names and the adoption of Biblical and English names. The names Cyhylyn, Cynwrig, Llywarch, Gweirydd, Ednyfed, Rhirid, Tegwared, Ynyr, and others that enshrined our princely tradition, passed out of circulation, and in their place came the incredibly dull and prosaic Thomas, William, David, John, Henry, etc. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign many of these became permanent patronymics, and Wales was flooded with these popular names. The same tendency is noticeable in women's names, and beautiful names like Angharad, Tangwystyl, Gwerfyl, Gwenhwyfar, Gwenllian, Goleuddydd, and Erddylad fell before the onslaught of Lettice, Marged, Mari, Jane, Elizabeth, Grace, Catherine, and the rest of them.

The life of the people in this period, from all accounts, continued to follow the traditional modes, and the records suggest that the economic condition of the nation was not an unsatisfactory one. A poem, written by an Englishman in 1480<sup>1</sup> indicates the things in Welsh life that struck the eye of an impartial observer, e.g. :—

So take I my tales  
And Wend in to Wales  
To that noble brood  
Of Priamus blood  
Knoleche for to Wynne  
Of grete Jupiters kynne  
For to have a mynde  
Dardanus kynd.

The custom of the Welsh families living in isolated homesteads instead of in clusters of villages had been observed by Giraldus in the twelfth century, and this is again commented upon in 1480 :—

Ther houses ben lowe with all  
And made of yerdes small  
Not as in cities nyghe  
But fer asonder & not to hihe.

<sup>1</sup> Caxton, *Descripcion of Britayne*, 1480. This poem was later printed in *The Descrypcyon of Englonde* in 1498.



The Welsh love for minstrelsy, praising noble descent at funerals, and respect for the clergy, appears in the following lines :—

They have in grete mangery  
harp tabour & pip for minstrelcie  
They bere corps with sorow gret  
and blowe loude hornes of gheet  
They prayse fast troian blode  
For therof come all her brode  
Neyh kyn they will be  
Though they passe an C degre  
Above othir me[n] they will he[m] dight  
& worship prestes with her myght.

The estates of the *bonheddig* were still small in acreage and rental in 1530–40 when Leland journeyed through Wales, although the formation of large estates was beginning to take place. Bishop Lee in 1536 said that there were "very few Welsh in Wales above Brecknock who have £10 in hand."<sup>1</sup> Intermarriage continued to be a feature of Welsh life, and Welsh couples continued to swell the coffers of the church as a result of such marital enterprise.

The inclination towards England is shown in genealogy, and ancestors are proudly noted if they fought at Poitiers and Agincourt and elsewhere in the royal service. No praises are sung to those who fought with Owen Glyndwr, and the memory of the great revolt had already taken a back seat in the writings of the bards. Genealogical terminology remained unchanged, but words like *ysgwier* and *mastr* were now being introduced under the influence of the English association. I have already referred to the influence of the College of Arms, and the printed *Grantees of Arms* show that many Welshmen had already obtained official grants of arms.<sup>2</sup> The gospel as propounded by the College was, that arms made the gentleman, and there was a rush of Welshmen to establish their technical gentility. Indeed, when Hugh Vaughan's gentility was challenged at Richmond in 1492, he did not produce his Welsh pedigree tracing a descent from Beli Mawr and Cadwaladr, but, instead, produced a grant of arms from the College as proof of his worthiness. This incident is significant since it shows that some Welshmen were now adopting English values.

Two traditional institutions which influenced Welsh life must be mentioned here, namely the *eisteddfod* and the *neithior*. The former had probably been held in earlier times, but there is no contemporary evidence, and the bards are silent on the subject. Tradition states that an *eisteddfod* had been held in Carmarthen in 1451, but the earliest one of which we have definite knowledge is the Caerwys *eisteddfod* of 1524.<sup>3</sup> The patrons of this *eisteddfod* were the

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *Making of Modern Wales*, 1919, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> It is significant to note that while several of these were descendants from the *fift en tribes*, they did not take out the arms alleged to have been borne by their tribal protonyms.

<sup>3</sup> B.M. Add. MS. 19710.

landowners Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan, Sir William Gruffudd, and Sir Roger Salusbury, and its proceedings were directed by Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llewelyn Fychan, Tudur Aled, and others. In connection with this *eisteddfod* we find reference to the "statute" of Gruffydd ap Cynan (*ob.* 1137). It is alleged that Gruffydd was responsible for a statute for regulating the bardic profession, but as all records are silent on the point we can only accept the "statute" as being an expression of the bardic thought of the sixteenth century, when it was first written down. It is unbelievable, had such an important statute been promulgated by Gruffydd in the twelfth century, that not a single reference should have been made to it between its promulgation and 1524. There can be no doubt that the *eisteddfod* was a flourishing institution in the sixteenth century, and that the desire to connect it with Gruffydd's "statute" was interested policy on the part of the bards, who wished to invest it with an authority that it did not possess. One of the important features of the Caerwys *eisteddfod* is that it admitted the legality of bardic degrees obtained in a *neithior*.

The *neithior* was a popular feature of old Welsh life, and had a bearing on Welsh genealogy. It was a marriage feast to which a large company of friends and kinsfolk of the contracting parties were invited.<sup>1</sup> The entertainment was on a lavish scale, and the bards attended in force. There they sang their poems of praise and also indulged in impromptu poetic arguments and competitions. According to Tudur Aled's poems it was at the *neithior* of Ieuan ap David ap Ithel Fychan of Llaneurgain that he received his first bardic degrees, and he mentions the *Tri Côf* which formed part of the syllabus.<sup>2</sup> A *neithior* was held in the house of that great patron of the Welsh bards, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, on the occasion of his marriage to Janet Mathew of Radyr, and a *cywydd* was composed then by Ieuan Rudd' of Glyn Roddne. The *neithior* of Sir Rhys' daughter was held at Carew Castle when Ieuan Fynglwyd of Glamorgan sang some verses in her honour, and when Ieuan Brechfa was instituted a "cyff cler."<sup>3</sup> The notice of a *neithior* held in 1555 at Rhiwedog reads: "Bid hysbys vod Neithior Reiol yn y plas yn Rhiwedog, rhwng Wiliam Llwyd, mab ac etivedd Elisau ap Wiliam Lloyd ap Morys, ag Elsbeth verch Owain ap John ap Hywel Vychan o Lwydiarth ym Mhowys a Chaer Gai ym Mhenllyn, dduw Sul yr ugeinfed dydd o fis Hydref, oed Crist MV a lv."<sup>4</sup> It was here that Griffith Hiraethog obtained certain bardic degrees. This was a purely Welsh custom, and, no doubt, an important landmark in the career of many a bard. The bards took this opportunity of exaggerating the importance of the men whose names appeared in the

<sup>1</sup> See Peniarth MS. 147, fo. 223, where the menu is given at great length.

<sup>2</sup> (i) History of Welsh princes and kings; (ii) the Welsh language; (iii) bardic customs, genealogy, heraldry, and divisions of land.

<sup>3</sup> G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, 1948, pp. 55, 189.

<sup>4</sup> Peniarth MS. 81, fo. 127.

family tree, and the *bonheddig* who had been liberal with his mead and honey would rarely have to complain that the gleemen were niggardly in their praise of his ancestors.

During this period, the Dissolution destroyed the churchmen and the religious houses—the patrons of the bards and the depositories of their records. Their libraries and manuscripts were scattered, but fortunately many became the private possessions of local landowners. Their lands were leased and sometimes sold to native *bonheddig* or to ambitious placemen and English favourites, which led to the rise of great territorial estates in Wales. It also led to rich tradesmen establishing themselves as country gentlemen. Thus the bards lost their ecclesiastical patrons, and as the *bonheddig* were beginning to adopt English standards, it could not be long before the bardic profession would deteriorate and vanish. The conversion of the people to Protestantism had an effect on the poems and on the ancestors, on the Virgin and the saints, and on the relics and Romish phrases, which were no longer the popular poetic subjects. When Derfel Gadarn fell, much of the old Welsh life fell also.

Such then were the influences that were to colour the second half of the Golden Age, and indeed all the periods that succeeded it. The high priest of this part of the Golden Age was Griffith Hiraethog, whose roots were deep in the Wales of the Catholic faith, the Wales of the gavelkind tenure and its family groups, of the *neithior* and of the *eisteddfod*. Nurtured in the tradition of the school of Guttun Owain and the bards, Hiraethog saw the overthrow of the ancient gods, and how he, like the mighty oak he was, weathered the storm that swept his native land, now forms the burden of my genealogical tale.

#### (b) *The School of Griffith Hiraethog.*

The period of Griffith himself is c. 1520 to 1566, but that of his school extends to 1600. The significance of this genealogist is, that he was bred in the tradition of Guttun Owain and thus represents a continuity of the native tradition. The events of 1530–42 had an effect on Griffith and some of his works indicate the impact of the English outlook on genealogy. He handed a modified tradition to his disciples like Simwnt Vychan, Wiliam Cynwal, William Lley, Dafydd Benwyn, Griffith and Lewis Dwnn, Jevan ap John William, John Williams, Rhys Cain, Sion Brwynog, and Robin Iachwr. Towards the end of the century a new school appeared which, although differing much from Griffith Hiraethog, was no less brilliant. The standards of the new school have ever since been the dominant one in the genealogy of the Principality. Thus, Griffith Hiraethog bridged the transition period, and what survived of the old learning is due to his great personality and mental vigour. His school represented the last of the bardic genealogists. Thereafter the Welsh genealogists were purely genealogists and armorists



who practised nothing of the *cynganedd* of their predecessors. Pilgrimages to Coldharbour took the place of "Cwrs Clera," and Guillim's *Armory* superseded *Llyfr Mawr Griffith Hiraethog*.

Little is known of Griffith's life, and nothing of his ancestry. He is said to have been a native of Llansannan in Denbighshire, and to have lived at the foot of the Hiraethog range whence he derived his bardic name. Since most of the bards of the time were of respectable families, I think it may be fairly concluded that he came from minor *bonheddig* stock. According to some pedigrees his wife, Katherine, was the great grand-daughter of Owen Glyndwr. In his brief leisure moments between fighting the English, making papal alliances, and planning a Welsh university, Owen sought respite in charms other than those of his wife, and it is from such a business that Katherine traced her descent.<sup>1</sup> Griffith was probably born towards the end of the fifteenth century and was perhaps a young man when Guttun Owain sang his last *cywydd*. He is said to have been a disciple of Tudur Aled, but it is certain that he was a pupil of Lewis Morgannwg. Fortunately the original licence granting him the grade of *penkerdd* has survived.<sup>2</sup> Written in the hand of Lewis Morgannwg in 37 Henry VIII (1545-6), it was granted by James Vaughan, Hugh ap Dafydd ap Lewis, esquires, and Lewis Morganwg "*penkerdd ac athro kerdd dafawd o vewn siroedd a thaleithiev kymrv.*" It recites that Griffith was a disciple of the said Lewis, and that he was now a graduated *penkerdd* and licenced to receive gifts and donations during the course of his itineraries. With the same licence is a copy of Griffith ap Cynan's "Statute" in the holograph of Hiraethog himself. It is also stated by his contemporaries that he was a deputy herald for the whole of Wales, under Garter, Norroy, and Clarencieux.<sup>3</sup> A significant document in Egerton MS. 2586, fo. 270, and published in the introduction to Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations* (i, xxii), is headed "Instruçõns for Gryffyth Yrathoc," contains detailed instructions as to the way he is to set about recording the pedigrees and arms of the Welsh gentry. It is endorsed, "Instr . . . for Griffith yraithog this had in the office of Armes." There can be no doubt that this is a copy of specific instructions made in the College, and they would never have been addressed to Hiraethog had he not held an official appointment. None of his manuscript work is preserved at the College (as far as I know), and his former pupils, William Lleyn, Owen Gwynedd, Simwnt Vychan, Wiliam Cynwal, and Sion Philip, received his

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1969, fo. 17; Harl. MS. 2299, fos. 205a, 206.

<sup>2</sup> Peniarth MS. 194; printed at length in Dr. Evans' *Report*, and said to have been granted under a commission of Henry VIII.

<sup>3</sup> "Gruffydd Hiraethog herald at armes dros holl Gymru dan Garter And Nerroy a Chlarencieux" (Dwan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 97); "*penkerdd a debytt Herald o Armes dros holl Gymrv*" (Llanstephan MS. 156, fo. 9); cf. a poem by Hiraethog himself, "*Herod wyf hoiw rad afail*" (Peniarth MS. 93). In view of these statements, and the fact that he paid close attention to heraldry, I am inclined to favour the opinion that he held such an appointment.

manuscripts between them after his death.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1566,<sup>2</sup> and, according to an elegy written by William Lleyrn, he was buried in the chancel of Llangollen parish church.

However, if little is known of his private life, much is known of his works, and many important genealogical manuscripts compiled by him still exist. He was also a prolific bard, and some 200 poems are known to be his work. These show that he was a complete master of his craft, that he had a sound knowledge of genealogy and heraldry, of ancient history, of the classics, of heroic literatures, of Latin, and perhaps Greek. Indeed he was the complete bard, a man of authority and command. A critical analysis of his work still awaits the attention of a Welsh scholar, and I feel that when that has been done, it will be found that he was one of the most outstanding Welshmen of his day. His penmanship, though not the neatest perhaps, is not difficult to read, and it is amusing to find that he sometimes employed figures to represent letters. He also studied the manuscripts produced in the reign of Guttun Owain, and his annotations in Peniarth MS. 126 (compiled sometime after 1505), Peniarth MS. 127 (c. 1510), show that he had pored over them. Amongst his own works, either all or partly in his holograph, are : Peniarth MSS. 138 (c. 1562), 135 (c. 1556-64), 136 (1564), 132 (pre-1550), 133 (before end of 1550), 134 (1550-62), 139 (1560+), 176 (1545-53), 177 (1544-65), 178, Pt. I (c. 1545), and 194 (c. 1546). Peniarth MS. 93 and Llanstephen MS. 52 contain his poetry. This does not pretend to be a complete list, and no doubt there are many other works by him in various public and private libraries. He was a man of vast industry, and these manuscripts throw much light on his methods. He often quoted authorities for his statements, which reveals the guidance he had received from bygone genealogists and evidences, e.g. a manuscript of Mr. Ieuan, dean of Bangor ; a book written by parson Owen ; a pedigree book by Robin Iachwr ; North Wales extents, 26 Edward III ; heraldic windows of churches and country houses ; a book by Guttun Owain in the possession of Thomas, bishop of Llan Elwy ; the book of Ieuan Brechfa ; John Trevor's book of arms ; the book of Sir John Prys, knt. ; the book of John R of Gwentllwg ; "llyfr yr athro Lewis Morganwc" ; the book of Morgan Elfel ; the book of Lewis y Glyn [? Cothi] ; the books of Gwilym Gwyn the old parson of Llanellian, Thomas Llwyd of Llys dulas in Bodeon, John ap R of Risgoc, Sir Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deicws,<sup>3</sup> Rys Holland, John Saer, Dd Bentiwr ; the charts and

<sup>1</sup> Llanstephen MS. 156, fo. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Evans' *Report*, sub. Peniarth MS. 132.

<sup>3</sup> "Yr wyth nolen hyn hyd yma a ysgrifennai i wyl y saint o lyfr o law syr Tomas ap Ieuan ap deicws a wnaeth ef wrth gyfarwyddyd llawer o awdvrdaid o achau yr abad Jhon o lan Egwestl ac o bydd neb a amhevo nad ydynt air yngair ar llyfr hwnnw Eled at Jhon ap R o risgoc ac yno y kaiff wel d y llyfr hwnnw a gwirionedd am i betrvsder, heddiw oed krist 1550" (Peniarth MS. 134).

works of Sir John Powys, Sion Brwynog, the Archdeacon of Merion-ydd, and many more. These references show how widely he had studied, and his debt to churchmen is obvious. Manuscripts like Peniarth 136 suggest that he had travelled in South Wales as well as in his native north, and his pedigrees show a sound knowledge of the former, which is perhaps to be expected from a former pupil of Lewis Morgannwg.

The contents of his manuscripts proclaim that his works and methods were based on the traditional subjects: *Bonedd y Saint*, pedigrees of Christ, churchmen and *bonheddig*, Bruts, anecdotes, poetry, grammar, etc. His references to original records like extents, and his detailed copies of arms from windows and evidences from tombstones show that he had a wider conception of his profession than his forebears who had relied more on the written works of their predecessors. Very little heraldry appears in the manuscripts of Guttun Owain's school, but Hiraethog's work is rich in this art, and it may indicate his association with the English College of Arms. From his works it will be seen that the numerical groupings of families were at last complete and had come to stay. Of the five royal tribes and the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd we have already spoken. Others were the *Saith Brenhinllwyth y De*,<sup>1</sup> *y Tri Beriach* (Canteli Wyddel, Osbwrn Wyddel, and Mabon Glochydd,<sup>2</sup> *y Pym Costowgliwyth* (Blaid Rhudd, Adda Fawr, Alo, Y Gwenwys, and Heilin Ysteilfforch),<sup>3</sup> *Y Tri gwyr a goded i vonedd* (Y Byr Asgwrn, Tegwared ap Kynwric, and Moel y Focsach), *Y Tri Beriach Ynys Prydein* (Tristan ap Tallwch, Gwyn ap Nudd, and Aegyn ap Koel garnach ap ofri o peridon o lwyth Diri) suggest an early origin, probably under triadic influence. Before the end of the sixteenth century the *Pum Achos Cadw Achau* had arrived in the manuscripts, but these were the product of the age, reflecting late Elizabethan genealogical thought, and have no historical significance, and like the fifteen tribes, are the product of antiquarian speculation and are not to be taken too seriously.

The terminology and format of Griffith's work show little difference from that of the older school. Pedigrees are recorded, mainly in narrative form, although several examples of tabular pedigrees are found. The words *bonedd*, *ach*, *llwythau*, *uchelwyr*, *kyff*, etc., are still found, and the actual words "Bonedd y Mamau" are found in this century for the first time in manuscripts. The terms master, esquire, gentleman, and yeoman are found with greater frequency

<sup>1</sup> Someone had awakened to the fact that Welsh gentility was not confined to the hairy mountaineers of Gwynedd.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that two were Irishmen and one a Welsh sexton. Despite the description *beriach*, Osbwrn and Madoc bore arms and possessed long pedigrees.

<sup>3</sup> According to Harl. MS. 4181 (late seventeenth century), quoting John Salusbury, these five arose during the Norman conquest. *Costowgliwyth* is held to mean churlish, or inferior, tribes.



than heretofore. The main points about Griffith's writings are his numerous references to sources, personal research into original records, and his inclusion of armorial bearings on a large scale. It is also noteworthy that in several cases he expresses doubt as to the veracity of certain pedigree claims, and his fifteen tribes differ from the earlier lists and also from the list that became subsequently regarded as the one that Gruffydd ap Cynan had personally drawn up in the twelfth century.

Griffith Hiraethog was an intellectual giant, and after his body had been lowered into the grave in the chancel of the little church in sequestered Llangollen, Wales was indeed a poorer nation. His influence lived on in his disciples, but after their departure *finis* was written in the book of the old tradition.

A review of the work of his disciples forms the epilogue to the life of Griffith Hiraethog. One of the best known of these was William Lley, whose title suggests that he came from the remote peninsula in Carnarvonshire. He was born about 1534-5 and may have become a clergyman in the closing years of his life. Report hath it that he was a son, "llwyn a pherth," of one of the Griffiths of Cefnamlwch. Hugh Lley is also said to have been his [? half] brother. Having been taught at the knee of Hiraethog, he graduated *penkerdd* at the Caerwys *eisteddfod* of 1568. He is also an important link in the Welsh bardic and genealogical tradition, for he was the teacher of Edmwnt Prys, Rhys Cain, Maurice Kyffin, and Lewis Dwnn, to whom he transmitted the old learning. Genealogy permeates his poems, particularly those he addressed to the ancient family of Vaughan of Corsygedol. His elegy to his old master Hiraethog shows a fine feeling and great poetic beauty.

William Lley spent many years of his life at Oswestry, where he may have gone to live in 1561. The Oswestry parish registers contain his burial entry: "1580. ultimo die August Will'm Llyn Bardus obiit eod die," and the elegy written on him by Rhys Cain states that he was then in his forty-sixth year. His will, dated 9th August, 1580, was proved at St. Asaph on 1st December, 1580.<sup>1</sup> It contains a bequest of genealogical material to his pupil Rhys Cain: "I do geve and bequeath to Rice ap Rinald al's kain all the books and rolls that I have fore ye some upon him in this my will mention'd" [i.e. 40s.]. Griffith Hiraethog had a high opinion of William, and he said this of four of his pupils: "Awenyddol yw Gwilym Cynwal, gofalus yw Simwnt Fychan, dysgedig yw Sion Tudur, ond nid oes dim yn anwybodus i Wiliam Llŷn." A fine tribute. The later Harl. MS. 5828 (late sixteenth or early seventeenth century), referring to "Heralds in Wales," says: "William Llien of Oswestre,

<sup>1</sup> See J. C. Morrice, *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llyn* (1908), where a masterly preface contains a critical investigation of the facts connected with the bard: see also W. J. Gruffydd, *Llenyddiaeth Cymru, 1450-1600*, p. 78.

deceased, was the best" (fo. 149). Several of his works have survived, and his genealogies, armorials, and poems are of a high standard.<sup>1</sup>

Wiliam Cynwal (c. 1545–87) was a man of good family, born at Dol Gynwal near Ysbytty Ifan, and, judging from his coat of arms, a descendant from Trahaiarn Goch o Lyn.<sup>2</sup> He was an excellent poet and an outstanding herald. His work shows a greater individualism than others of his period, and from a study of his manuscripts<sup>3</sup> we are able to find much about his methods and attitude to research. The Harl. MS. 1961 and Christchurch (Oxford) MS. 184 suggest that he had been employed by Catherine of Berein, and in an interesting note in the latter manuscript he describes the methods he intends to employ and also criticises others of his own profession. Cynwal writes: "Y llyfr hwnn a ddechrevais i Wiliam Kynwal prydydd dynnu i arvav ac ysgrivenu i iachav ai gowyddav pann oedd oed Krist. 1570. i mestres Katrin aeres Tudur ap Robart Vychan o Lann vfydd [. . .] ac aeres yn dal tir i mam Sian vz Sr rolant Veillaveille o byraen marchoc ac yn y llyfr hwnn y kair iachav mestres Katrin ai henaviaid ai harvav wedi i tynnv allan o amravaelion lyfrav awdvriaid yn y blaen yn gwplaf ac y gallwyd ac ar ol hynny y kair kowyddav moliant a marwnadav i thad ai thaid ai hynafiaid ac y kair i chowyddav hithav ai gwyr priod ac o flaen y kowyddav yr wyf yn ysgrivennv tabl i gael y kowydd a ofynner yn ddidaring hynny edrycher pa rif a vo ar y kowydd yn y dabl ac ar yr vn rif o ddolennav y llyfr y kair ac o achos nad oeddwn yn gallv kael pob pennill yn i lle yr wyf ynn roi kroes ar y pennill a vo ar gam kans yr oedd rai prydyddion heb fedru gochel morr beiaav a hefyd llawer o bethav oedd yn iawn yn yr amsser gynt ac nid ydyn gymeradwy yn yr oes honn hevyd llawer pennill sydd ar gam ac a wnaeth y prydydd yn iawn er bod wedi i kam yscrivennv o amsser iamsser or neb ni wyddai morrgelvyddy." Before we draw to a close the review of this period we shall meet with several other examples of this condemnation of bardic laxity. Cynwal was the writer of the fine emblazoned armorial Harl. MS. 1961, and on fo. 46 he gives the five reasons for preserving arms and pedigrees, which clearly show the influence of the College of Arms. They are as follows:

PUM ACHOS y sydd i gadw Iachav ac arvay vn yn gwnevthvr priodassav teilwng Yr ail yn ytfethiaeth tir a laeau<sup>4</sup> kyfreithlawn Y trythydd kwesti herwydd Tri pheth a bair llyngv<sup>5</sup> anvdon kariad gwarth ac ofn Y pedwerydd yw kas a galanasstra. Y pvmed o da gwr yn Raid y brenin a gofyn arvav Ir herodr dangos na yw ond lawr<sup>6</sup> yn i wlad.

<sup>1</sup> Peniarth MSS. 128, 132, 133, 134, 139, 140, 141, 142; Cwrtmawr MS. 20; Cardiff MS. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Mostyn MS. 111, fo. 32b.

<sup>3</sup> Peniarth MSS. 128, 183, 212; Mostyn MSS. 1, 111, 145; Bangor MS. 5943; Christchurch (Oxford) MS. 184; and B.M. Harl. MS. 1961.

<sup>4</sup> Bangor MS. 5943 (A.D. 1570–80), fo. 158, gives "daear." This MS. appears to have been Cynwal's rough working notebook. *Ex inf.* Mr. Emyr Gwynne Jones.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, "tynu."

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, "Iangwr."

In the Bangor MS. 5943 are also written the *englynion* to the fifteen tribes which first appear about this time. Similar *englynion* are found in *Gwynedd* 3, p. 280, a work which also contains some of Cynwal's poetry. The *englynion* in his hand in the Bangor manuscript contains two additional verses to commemorate Rhodri's family. The verses are also found in Dr. John David Rhys' holograph in Peniarth MS. 118 (1585-1600), and in the later manuscripts of William Lewes of Llwynderw and Hugh Thomas. To this period also belongs the neat *englyn* on the five royal tribes.

In an interesting combat conducted in poetry between Cynwal and Edmund Prys, the latter pays tribute to his adversary's genealogical superiority in the following lines :—

Disgwylliaist, oesawg alarch,  
Dwyn dy ach i bellach parch ;  
Dy awenydd adwaenwn  
Dwyn âch fel tydi ni wn.

We turn now to Simwnt Vychan, a distinguished poet, grammarian, genealogist, and herald, and sometime family bard to the Thelwalls of Plas y Ward. He was born towards the middle of the sixteenth century, and died on 12th April, 1606.<sup>1</sup> He was a North Walian, and a manuscript in the Cardiff Library states that he lived at Ruthin.<sup>2</sup> He paid close attention to heraldry and a study of his works reveals his wide knowledge of the subject.<sup>3</sup> Mostyn MS. 161 contains a poem written by Simwnt some time before 1563, and if Dr. Evans' dating is correct, then Simwnt was born some time before the middle of the century, perhaps about 1530-40. In this poem he bewails the bad times that had befallen the bards. Another of Hiraethog's pupils, Sion Tudur, came from Wigwair near St. Asaph, and was a descendant from Llowarch Holbwrch.<sup>4</sup> A letter in Harl. MS. 1971 (fo. 106) quotes as its authority a book of pedigrees by "Jo<sup>a</sup> Tydir of the p'ish of St. Asaph an ould poet." A fine poet and herald,<sup>5</sup> Sion Tudur, like Simwnt, had also noted that the bards were becoming unpopular, and instead of merely bewailing the circumstance, he placed his finger on the reason which he succinctly described in a poem in Mostyn MS. 147, fo. 233. According to him some of the bards were in the habit of fabricating pedigrees and coats of arms, and of praising all and sundry for a consideration ; and that was the reason why respectable folk raised

<sup>1</sup> Panton MS. 22, fo. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Cardiff MS. 4, fo. 265.

<sup>3</sup> For his works see Peniarth MSS. 59, 64, 74, 78, 128, 132, 134 ; Cardiff MSS. 4, 63 ; Jesus College MS. 9 ; B.M. Add. MS. 15046.

<sup>4</sup> The arms of "Sion Tudur Prydydd" are given in Mostyn MS. 111, fo. 30.

<sup>5</sup> See Mostyn MS. 147 ; Peniarth MS. 66.



their eyebrows at the approach of a poet with fulsome *cynghanedd* and yards of genealogy in his pouch. Sion sang as follows :—

Ninnau'r beirdd a nawn rai bâs  
Or arddwyr wyr o varddas  
A rhoi âchav rhy wychion  
A mawl i Siack mal i Sion.

. . .

Os ir gwan ni roi giniaw  
na chardawd i dlawd oi law  
na chenniog dros i grogi  
fo rydd am âch fowrdda i mi.

. . .

kard o law'r bardd ai harddai  
llaw'r bardd a wnaeth llawer bai  
dwyn achau ag arfau gant  
oddiar rowiog i ddrewiant.

. . .

The good Sion had been bred in the right tradition, and each line of his poem shows skill as well as sting. Forgery of pedigrees was certainly practised at this period, although, in fairness, it must be stated that it was not as universal amongst Welsh genealogists as is sometimes alleged. The rise of the new men of the Tudor period (e.g. the Cecils, some of whom were "pedigree-mad") was partly responsible for this, and these men tumbled over one another in their eagerness to "prove" that they were descendants of the fifteen tribes or distinguished *advenae* of long lineage. This unfortunate tendency was frowned upon by reputable bards of Hiraethog's school, but there was little they could do in the matter apart from personally declining to prostitute their talents. We find several instances of this fall from grace. Sir Thomas Wiliems wrote in 1572 about one of the Trevor pedigrees: "Ac ynn yr ach honn o D. Trevor alan y mae ymrysson maur meun lyfrau achoed"; and of the pedigree of an earlier period, that of Rhys ap Meredydd ab Owain ap Hywel Dda, he wrote: "Rhai a dyuaid fod mab i Ho! da ab Cadel a eluid Eduin o Elffled guraic Elystan vrenhin. . . . Eduin bioed y dalaith ac nid yu hynny meun Cronik ynn y byd nac meun lyfr da o hen achoed."<sup>1</sup>

The fifteen tribes caused certain headaches and Lewis Dwnn gave two different versions of them from "old books," but added: "Duw a wyr na wnn i po ffyrf i brvtvr ar achoedd hynn."<sup>2</sup> However, there were to arise writers whose imagination was in excess of their honesty, and who were to "solve" all the intricacies concerning the fifteen tribes. Some of the gentry shrank from accepting such pedigrees, and in 1588 John Wynn ab Owen of Ystum kegid, whose pedigree was made out by Dwnn, signed it with the following very

<sup>1</sup> Mostyn MS. 113, fos. 148, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Peniarth MS. 268, written by L. Dwnn, 1586-1611, fos. 58-9; on fo. 93 *et seq.* is an interesting list of the writer's authorities.

significant words: "wrth y sydd wir. John Wyn Owen." The fifteen tribes were not swallowed by Hiraethog's school without considerable discussion, and in Peniarth MS. 268, fo. 172, we read: "Ef a ddywaid Rai yn ehevbarth ac yn enwedid lle ir ysgrifennodd John Wynn un llawiawc<sup>1</sup> am Ywain ap bradwen nad yw ef yn dyfod o farchvdd eithr . . . o koel godeboc," and the alternative pedigrees of Collwyn and Gwaethvoed are also given. Hiraethog himself wrote that there were four ancestors called Iarddur, while the school of Guttun Owain had included Rhirid Flaidd as one of the fifteen, an ancestor whose claim was rejected by Hiraethog.

Thus out of this welter of uncertainty it is not surprising to find that pedigree-forging was facilitated and became an element with which to reckon. There were two main methods of providing forged pedigrees. The most popular was to "hook on" one's own pedigree to an older and well-established family. This was done in the case of the Welsh Herberts and by George Owen of Henllys. But this was not confined to Welsh genealogists, for we find that some of the officers of the College of Arms were not without blemish. Thus, on fo. 143, Harl. MS. 3526, we read: "These 4 Coates Garter hath passed by pat[ent] to one Roberts of Cardife in Wales wich Roberts faather was a pedler & bastard to Sr Robert a prest, for ye mainenance of wich armes ye said garter hath forged a most false petygree."

So it is not surprising to find that genealogists were unwelcome in certain quarters. Even Dwnn, who on his own statement was generally well received by the gentry, was forced to complain of the ungenerous treatment he suffered at the hands of some of the squires.<sup>2</sup> This antagonism led a poet to write, about 1580: "Dychan i wr bonheddic a fydde yn nippio ne yn doydvd geiriau dvon wrth y klerwyr a ddele ato" (Cardiff MS. 63, fo. 73). Towards the end of the century the numbers of bards increased, but many were an uneducated lot of inferior status, more at home in the kitchen than the *neuadd*.

The bardic itinerary known as *cwrs clera* continued to be made, and a very interesting and detailed account of such a *cwrs* made by Rhys Cain has survived.<sup>3</sup> This is a North Wales itinerary and shows that Rhys called on some 105 households about Eastertide, including leading families like the Middletons, Thelwals, Salusburys, Mostyns, Eytons, Wynnes, Hammers, Broughtons, etc., and churchmen like "the Bishop" and "the Dean," and he also attended some weddings during the same time. He received money gifts from them all, varying from forty shillings to eightpence, making a total of £23 2s. 6d.—a considerable sum of money in the late sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> "llyfr Jon un llawiog" had also been used by Simwnt Fychan (Harl. MS. 2129).

<sup>2</sup> Dwnn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Peniarth MS. 178, fos. 56-62; printed in full in Dr. Evans' *Report*.

century. It must have been a most pleasant life, riding on horseback through the countryside, dining and sleeping in the ancient homes of the *bonheddig*, worshipping in the grey churches amidst Welsh hills, singing a lively refrain at weddings, and jotting genealogical notes in their books. There were also *eisteddfods* and cheery *neithiors* to attend, and, of course, the inevitable funeral, where a formal sorrow could be displayed in the stately *marwnad*. And, in addition, there were fees. It is interesting to note that the Welsh gentlemen were themselves sufficiently educated in bardism to be able to appreciate and criticize the poems declaimed before them. Thus, Meyric Dafydd, a Glamorgan bard, was rapped sharply over the knuckles by a Welsh squire some time towards the end of this century. "This bard resorting a brode to gentlemens howses in the loytring time betweene Christmas and Candlemas to singe songes and receave rewardes," came to Beaupre House and handed to William Bassett a poem "containinge partelie the praises of the gentleman, and partelie the pettygrees and matches of his auncestors." Mr. Bassett handed him a noble as his fee, but immediately burnt the poem as it was not up to scratch.<sup>1</sup>

The charges that were made against certain bards and genealogists cannot be levelled against those of Hiraethog's school, whose works are of high standard. In addition to those mentioned, the following were also worthy members of the fellowship of Hiraethog: Dafydd Benwyn (1550-1600), who was mainly interested in South Wales pedigrees;<sup>2</sup> Sion Brwynog ap Hywel ap Llewelyn ap Ithel (1530-60), who owned the *plas* of Brwynog in Anglesey;<sup>3</sup> John Brooke of Mawddwy (c. 1520-90), who, despite his name, was of true Welsh descent, and had based his studies on the works of Guttun Owain and Griffith Hiraethog;<sup>4</sup> Edward ap Roger, a *bonheddig* of Bromfield (ob. 1587), who, according to Harl. MS. 3858, was "one of the best for Welsh pedigrees";<sup>5</sup> Jevan ap John Wyn;<sup>6</sup> Hugh ap David ap Robert of Kidwelly, whose books Lewis Dwnn had used; Hopkyn ap Eynon, a heraldic painter of Brecknock, who compiled a genealogy in 1604 from Hiraethog's manuscripts; Llewelyn Sion of Llangewydd, Glamorgan, a poet and writer who had studied the works of Gwilym Tew;<sup>7</sup> Sir Thomas Wiliems (1550-1620), kinsman of the Gwydir family, a graduate of Oxford, parson and physician,

<sup>1</sup> *Storie of the Lower Borowes of Merthyr Mawr*.

<sup>2</sup> Cardiff MS. 10; his pedigree roll of William Bleddyn, Bishop of Llandaff, is also at the Cardiff Library.

<sup>3</sup> Peniarth MS. 61; Llanstephan MS. 156; Dwnn, op. cit., Vol I, p. 7; Vol. II, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide Llyfr John Brooke* (Wrexham MS. 1), now in N.L.W.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide Peniarth MS.* 128; B.M. Add. MS. 14967.

<sup>6</sup> He wrote B.M. Add. MS. 14916 (1575-79), a very fine genealogical work.

<sup>7</sup> Harl. MSS. 2300, 2414; N.L.W. MSS. 970, 6511; Llanstephan MS. 134; *Llyfr Hir Llanharan* in Cardiff Free Library; see G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, p. 158.



a leading scholar of his age, and a fine genealogist ;<sup>1</sup> Owain Gwynedd, family bard to Lewis Owen of Dolgelle, and a disciple of Hiraethog ;<sup>2</sup> and Robin Iachwr o Wynedd, who was still alive in 1610. Many more names could be added. Their manuscripts await critical analysis and evaluation. The results of what tests I have been able to apply to them suggest that they were highly accurate. The narrative pedigree form was employed in many of the works, but the tabular form was also used on a considerable scale. The language employed was mainly Welsh, although some used English, while the pedigrees of several, like those of Lewis Dwnn, are in both languages.

There were certain families with hereditary genealogical tendencies. Rhys Cain of Oswestry, the friend of William Lleyrn, was followed by his son, John Cain, whose works we shall notice later. The Chaloners, despite their surname, were descended from a purely Welsh family, and made notable contributions to genealogical studies. Thomas Chaloner of Chester, a student of the works of Guttun Owain, was employed by the College of Arms. He died on 14th May, 1598,<sup>3</sup> and his widow remarried to his apprentice, the industrious Randle Holme, who probably admired his old master's genealogical records quite as much as he did the wife. Thomas' son, Jacob Chaloner (1586-1631), carried on his genealogical work. Later in the sixteenth century Captain Robert Chaloner was appointed Bluemantle Pursuivant in 1660 and Lancaster Herald in 1665. The family that produced the four Randle Holmes was a notable one, and their works were closely associated with Welsh genealogy of the seventeenth century. In South Wales inherited love and practice of genealogies was also seen in the family of Owen of Henllys. Rhys ab Owen made out family trees, as also did his son William Owen. William was followed by his very able son George Owen of Henllys, who in turn was followed by his son Alban Owen, who made a collection of the arms of the London City Companies. George's illegitimate son, George Owen, became an officer of the College of Arms in the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Before we notice the new school that came into being at the end of the Golden Age, it will be convenient here to say a few words about those two remarkable men, Lewis Dwnn and John Williams. The former was a member of an ancient and illustrious *bonheddig*

<sup>1</sup> Peniarth MSS. 62, 77, 94, 122, 188, 225, 227 ; Mostyn MSS. 113, 204 ; Hengwrt MS. 204 ; Cardiff MS. 21 ; B.M. Add. MS. 31055.

<sup>2</sup> Llanstephan MS. 156, fo. 9 ; Peniarth MS. 195 ; Dwnn, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MSS. 1923, 1970, 1979, 1982 ; and Sloane MS. 3977, being the emblazoned roll of the Middletons by Thos. Chaloner of Chester, gent., "and student in the law of Armes." He wrote many of his books in Welsh. See W. J. Hemp, *Y Cymmrodor*, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> See an essay by Mr. London in *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.*, 1946. Some of the MSS. of George Owen, York Herald, are in the British Museum—Harl. MS. 5800, Add. MSS. 14410, 19816, etc.

family, and he took every opportunity to magnify its importance in much the same way as his pompous kinsman Griffith Dwnn of Kidwelly had done. Dwnn had been a disciple of William Lleyrn, and he was firmly grounded in the old tradition. In 1586 he became deputy herald for the whole of Wales, and his immense labours between that time and 1614 have already been made available to the public.<sup>1</sup> It is the general experience of those who have studied and tested Dwnn's work that his pedigrees are extremely accurate, although some curious mistakes occur, and several trees of the same families which have been entered more than once, sometimes show serious discrepancies. I should like to mention a word of warning here. Many years ago my late friend Mr. Francis Green mentioned to me that he had suspicions that much of Dwnn's published work had suffered in transcription. After the last war ended I found myself in London, and I then compared Meyrick's printed *Visitations* with one of the original manuscripts in the British Museum. The results of this comparison were pretty frightening. Not a single pedigree, of the dozens that I checked, had been accurately transcribed. Neither are the inaccuracies of a minor nature. There are numerous examples of whole generations omitted, younger sons being made into their fathers' brothers, younger children omitted, personal and place-names quite inaccurately transcribed, and, what is less excusable, easily-read ones left out. In one pedigree a place-name has even been converted into the name of an elder son! As a result of some of these errors the editor has been led into making certain footnotes which he would have refrained from doing had it been accurately transcribed. Another maddening thing is, that headings have often been wrongly placed in the printed version. It is also important to include words and names that Dwnn himself had scored out. From one of these holograph corrections I was able some time ago to make an important identification in connection with a Pembrokeshire Plea Roll in the Public Record Office.<sup>2</sup>

The blame is not altogether that of the transcribers, whoever those unfortunates may have been. Those familiar with Dwnn's vile handwriting will agree that he was a cacographist of the deepest dye. In addition, his arrangement of the pedigrees and their infuriating untidiness often suggests the work of a short-sighted eccentric. But by exercising great patience and working slowly it is quite possible to disentangle the pedigrees and to read them accurately. Unfortunately, in several places, where the transcribers failed to make out a word by Dwnn, they supplied what, in their

<sup>1</sup> Among his MSS. are Peniarth MS. 96, Egerton MS. 2585, and Peniarth MS. 268, which were printed in the *Heraldic Visitations*; N.L.W. MS. 5270B; N.L.W. 4627E contains a pedigree in his holograph; Egerton MS. 2586, fo. 31; he made notes in B.M. Add. MS. 15041 (Book of Thomas ap Llywelyn); some pedigrees in the College of Arms collections are in his hand.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Evan D. Jones informs me that Vol. II of the *Visitations* is also open to similar objections. The MS. for the second volume is in N.L.W.

opinion, it should have been. Despite all this, Dwnn stands out as a great man. I can only hope that the College paid him reasonably, because all he received from the Welsh gentry for his labours from 1586 to 1613 (as recorded in his work) was something under £30.

Dwnn was a fine genealogist, and his own preface to his work is outstanding and unique. In it he gives a brief survey of his task, the names of the old bards, many of whom he had known and seen "aged and grey-headed," and also a list of the gentry "by whom I was permitted to see old records and books from religious houses, that had been written and their materials collected by Abbots and Priors." He names some twenty-nine important landowners who had helped him thus, and he could have named more. His preface contains a further reference to the monasteries as sources of information: "... the religious houses, who admired this science, and who exerted themselves together with the poets to assist and strengthen such a work, that the wicked might neither augment nor lessen it, nor form new pedigrees nor lose the old ones." This is an interesting confirmation (if such were necessary) of the part that had been played by the priests and monks in Welsh genealogy. Dwnn includes many references to other sources in the corpus of his work, and we find that he had read ancient deeds and also studied armorial seals. His knowledge of English was far from profound, and when he essayed to write it his spelling was of a phonetic nature. However, his knowledge of his native tongue was sound, and his writing compares favourably with that of others of his period. His work has sometimes been decried owing to the tracing of pedigrees to Brutus and to Adam and to other fantastic origins. But it must be clear to anyone with a knowledge of the background of Welsh genealogy that Dwnn was merely recording the conventional antiquarian learning of Welsh Wales. He must be judged according to the standards of his day.

The publication of *Llyfr Baglan* has brought the work of one John Williams to public notice. Nothing is known of the author's history, except that he was certainly from South Wales and compiled his pedigrees between 1600 and 1608. A study of his work reveals some interesting matters. The pedigrees are mainly written in the narrative form, and do not appear to have been entirely based on any one earlier volume. Several of the pedigrees appear to have been constructed entirely by John Williams himself, and it is clear that he was a man of strong individuality. A close study of *Llyfr Baglan* is a fascinating business, but here we must content ourselves with drawing attention to a few tendencies evident in it. For his methods of compiling trees see pp. 13, 27-8, 46, 64-7, 72, 120, 210, and 214, 264, etc., and particularly p. 305 showing his use of deeds, and pp. 128, 317, for a list of sources. The influence of the Herberts (and the Cecils to a lesser degree) on the writer is obvious, and an effort to glorify the Herbert ancestry may be traced throughout the



whole book. He was also careful to stress the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors. As well as original research and a familiarity with Camden and Glover, he had also consulted "the boocke of Morgan Abbott," and several of the pedigrees reveal the conventional styles. Thus he traces Llewelyn the last to "Addaf vab duw dad holl gyfoethoc, Tri ac Vn." His views on gavelkind (p. 125) are interesting. He possessed a sound knowledge of inheritance, and he had noted the non-hereditary nature of early Welsh arms (p. 126). His opinion of Breconshire genealogists was a high one: "Brec. sheire men all gen'allie are the beast Recorders of pedegrees and othere ancient p'sidents that I knowe in anye Countrey" (p. 122). The pedigrees often reveal the writer's critical judgment, and, occasionally, a sense of humour. One would like to know more about John Williams, whose name is completely overshadowed by that of his book.

We now turn to a third class of genealogists whose origin is also in the Golden Age.

(c) *The New School.*

The characteristics of this school were as follows:—

1. Its members were country gentlemen.
2. They were all from South Wales.
3. Their education enabled them to understand legal documents and historical records, whereas the training of the previous Welsh schools of genealogy was primarily a literary one.
4. They wrote mainly in English.
5. They were purely genealogists, and wrote no poetry.
6. They were associated with the College of Arms.
7. They were men of independent means, and, with one exception, claimed no fees for their works. Genealogy and heraldry were their prime hobbies, and they did not indulge in them in order to live.
8. They adapted the old Welsh genealogical tradition to the new conditions and to the new language. Whether they realized that the old Welsh school had died with the school of Hiraethog, is not clear, but they were certainly responsible for saving much of the old learning, while at the same time laying the foundation of the modern school of genealogical research.

The chief members of the new school were George Owen of Henllys, the Revd. George Owen Harry of Whitchurch, Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate, Rhys Meyrick of Cotterell, and, although belonging to the next century, George William Griffith of Penybenglog.

The high priest of the new school was George Owen of Henllys in north Pembrokeshire (c. 1553–1613), a lawyer and the son of a

lawyer, descended from the minor *bonheddig* of Dyfed. William Owen, his father, had made enough money to buy the rights of the Barony of Cemes in 1543 from the de Audeley family, who had no further use for it. During the course of a most active life, George Owen discharged the normal duties of a country gentleman, as a magistrate, deputy lieutenant, high sheriff, and vice-admiral. George William Griffith described him as esquire, lieutenant, Vice-Admiral, Lord of Kemes, "rhwn oedd i hun yn Gymro ystyriol ag a gare Gymreigydd." Henllys was an open house for the Welsh bards who flocked there in vast numbers, and many of their poems to George Owen and his family have survived. Sion Mawddwy tried to persuade Owen to hold an *eisteddfod* and addressed a *cywydd* to him on the subject, but nothing appears to have come of the project.

George Owen had two great objects in life. One was to re-establish the ancient services and dignities of the Lord Marcher, and the other to prove that he was a blood descendant of the Norman Martins, the first Lords Marcher of Cemes. He partly succeeded in the first but certainly failed in the other. In order to provide evidence for these two matters, George Owen, an antiquary by nature, wrote manuscript notes of the history of Pembrokeshire with special reference to the baronies therein, and also many genealogical manuscripts, most of which, somehow or other, seem to connect with his own family. He also wrote good idiomatic Welsh and was thoroughly versed in the family lore and folk-lore of north Pembrokeshire. His handwriting is normally neat and legible, but oft-times it deteriorated into a cramped scrawl which is difficult to read. Some of his fair copies were actually written by John Browne, his servant, and by one of the Vaughans of Pontvane who occasionally acted as clerk of his baronial courts. The credit for the discovery of the association of John Browne with George Owen's writings, goes to Dr. B. G. Charles, an authority on the history of George Owen and the barony of Cemes. Dr. Charles has, lately, again placed us in his debt by editing George Owen's second book of the "Description of Pembrokeshire" in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, Winter, 1948.

In assessing the works of Welsh genealogists, it is necessary to learn the answers to the following two questions: (i) what amount of transcription was made, and (ii) what amount of work was originated by the writers. The answers to these questions are known as far as George Owen is concerned, and it is here that we discern the greatness of the man. He was the first man to produce a corpus of Pembrokeshire genealogy, and, also (with George Owen Harry) the first to produce a Pembrokeshire armorial. In his projected history of Pembrokeshire, which was to be written parish by parish, he enlisted the aid of his brother-squires and produced a list of twenty-one points for their guidance (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*,

Vol. I, pp. 283-6, Cymm. Rec. Series). Points 5 and 6 show his workmanlike approach to genealogy and armory, and read as follows:—

5. of all castles and gentlemens howses decayede or nowe Remayninge and who weare the ownors thereof in old tyme and now present, w<sup>th</sup> the pedigree and Armes of the gentlemen if it may be knowne and by whome and when the same castles and gentlemens howses were buylte.

6. of all armes and tombes that are to be found in Euery parish church and chapple as well in the windeos as ells where whose names and tombes thesame are, who are nowe theire heires, what armes it is, & if yt may not be knowne yet to take a note of the names and tombes & in what part of the church thesame standeth.

The works of George Owen are of prime importance to Welsh genealogy, and owing to his general interests he was able to perceive genealogy in its proper perspective. He had appreciated that a knowledge of land tenures and of county history based on a study of ancient records, was necessary for genealogical work, and owing to his legal education (Bernards Inn) he was able to transcribe and comprehend the significance of records and deeds, far better than the members of the Welsh schools whose training was primarily a literary one. He was a friend of Lewis Dwnn whom he had helped, and who, in turn, permitted Owen to copy some of his visitation pedigrees which Owen did not possess. He entertained many Pembrokeshire men at Henllys, and after a good dinner he obtained details of their family history which he faithfully committed to writing. He also travelled through Pembrokeshire, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, visited Ludlow where he had appeared in the courts, and London where he searched the records in the Tower and met the officers of the College of Arms. During these itineraries he searched documents and deeds, made notes of heraldry in country house architecture and in churches, noted tombstones and heraldic windows, and, having done this, he proceeded to analyse the evidences and arrange them in an orderly manner. Beneath or alongside the genealogical data thus collected, he entered the names of his informants, the place and date when he received the information. Many of his movements can be traced in the folios of Egerton MS. 2586. The majority of the pedigrees in this manuscript were entered on double folio sheets which were afterwards very tidily folded into four folds and endorsed with a brief title of their contents in the manner of old-time lawyers. Later these sheets were opened out, the folios numbered, and made into a book, complete with a table of contents and index. He did not confine his conversations to heralds and country landlords. For instance, on 19th April, 1592, he obtained genealogical information about a Carmarthenshire family from "David Wm de Kilgwin a poore man borne in llangun-derne & dwellyd upon the Lands of Thomas Lloid ap Robert."<sup>1</sup> He could also charm the ladies into helping him, and on 8th June, 1594, Sage verch David Lloyd gave him considerable genealogical

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MS. 2586, fo. 305.



detail relating to the Lloyds of Glyn, Carmarthenshire.<sup>1</sup> He used English, Welsh, and Latin in his writings, and the format of the pedigrees take three forms : (i) the "race-horse" pedigree form, (ii) the tabular *wyth rhan rhieni* form, which I believe he originated, and (iii) the normal tabular pedigree form. The pedigrees are garnished with interesting anecdotes, nick-names of the squires, supporting evidence from early deeds and records, and heraldic notes. His work possesses a high degree of accuracy, if we except the forged link between his own genuine Welsh ancestors, and the Norman Martins. He also compiled a sequence of genealogies deriving from a common ancestor in "race-horse" pedigree form, and it is likely that it was from George Owen that David Edwardes and William Lewes derived their excellent idea of recording pedigrees in a sequence of tribal stocks. After George Owen died (26 August, 1613, aged 61), many of his manuscripts became the property of George William Griffith of Penybenglog, who transcribed some of them, and afterwards they came to the hands of William Lewes of Llwynderw, whose history will be given later.

Several of his works have survived, such as the "Vairdre Book" and other manuscripts in the National Library of Wales and elsewhere. Some are in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 6077, 6068, 6250, Egerton MS. 2586, and Add. MS. 12471) ; and in a Cardiff Free Library manuscript, a transcript of which is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 39751), and in N.L.W. MSS. 13687-8, there are *wyth rhan rhieni* pedigrees. Several others are in the College of Arms. He was the first Welsh armorist to produce armorials of marshalled coats and attaching to them genealogical notes to explain the inclusion of the quarterings. A Chetham Library manuscript (printed in Laws' *Little England beyond Wales*, 1888) contains Pembrokeshire pedigrees of the *wyth rhan rhieni* pattern, which is probably based on George Owen's work. These manuscripts are extremely important for Pembrokeshire genealogists, for before Owen's time there were but few Pembrokeshire pedigrees on manuscript record and no armorial whatsoever. His best armorials are contained in Cardiff MS. 2. 38 and N.L.W. MS. 13687. He had studied the works of Rhys Kain, Morgan Jones of Ludlow, J. G. Gutto (whoever he may have been), and many others. William Lewes of Llwynderw quotes extensively from one of Owen's manuscripts called "The Storehouse of Genealogy," but the original does not appear to have survived. Besides genealogy, it contained descriptions of early Pembrokeshire seals. He had a habit of naming his own manuscripts, e.g. "The Taylours Cussion," "The Book of Roundlets," etc. He was assisted in his work by two extremely able neighbours, the Revd. George Owen Harry of Dinas (later of Whitchurch), and George William Griffith, then a young man living at Penybenglog.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., fo. 304.

The *wyth rhan rhieni* pedigrees (referred to in the Mabinogi) were a modification of the Continental *seize quartiers*, and the earliest Welsh genealogists to have employed this form, as far as I am aware, were George Owen, George Owen Harry, and George William Griffith and Ieuan ap Ieuan ap Madog of Bettws near Bridgend.<sup>1</sup> Some of the Randle Holme family also used it on a small scale when recording North Wales and Border families. These pedigrees are made out in the tabular form with the emblazoned shields of each of the eight ancestors above the eight names. However, Ieuan ap Ieuan ap Madog, a minor *bonheddig* (or yeoman as he is sometimes described), differs in his lay-out, in so much as he records the eight ancestors in narrative form as follows:—

llyma enwey fymhedwar gorhendam am pedair gorhenfam i jeuan ab jeyan ab madoc fal y kanlyn

1. Madoc fab jeyan ab howell.
2. a jeuan ll'n ab jeuan ab D'd.
3. a jeuan ll'n dafydd leia
4. a rys llwyd ab jeyan ll'n ychan fyngorhenfamey
1. ffelis ferch howel ab jeyan ab siankin ab rys fychan
2. Isobel verch tomas ab rys ychan.
3. Elen ferch siankin dafydd ab gr' ab rys ab owain ab laethwy.
4. katrin ferch siankyn llwyd ab gr ap jeuan ab howel melyn.

It is interesting to note that a humble yeoman should have been so knowledgeable in the matters of his own pedigree, and shows that Giraldus' "common people" continued to pay attention to their genealogy in the sixteenth century. A manuscript containing pedigrees, mainly of Breconshire families, written between 1615 and 1620, also contains the *wyth rhan rhieni* both in tabular and "race-horse" forms, and its author remarks: "It were a perty piece of work to go through all the gentlemen in this County in this manner" (Harl. MS. 5058, fo. 43).

George Owen Harry was a Pembrokeshire parson descended from an ancient Carmarthenshire stock.<sup>2</sup> He was rector of Dinas and Whitchurch, and was a close friend of George Owen of Henllys who presented him to the latter living in 1584. The parson was a genealogist and an able antiquary, and his name is often quoted in later manuscripts as authority for pedigrees. He is the "G.O.H." quoted so extensively in the works of William Lewes, and from the use of the initials it is clear that he possessed as intimate a knowledge of Welsh pedigrees as he did of his prayer-book. A copy of his armorial of Pembrokeshire families, made by David Edwardes, is now preserved in the College of Arms. He was the author of

<sup>1</sup> Llanstephan MS. 178, written by him shortly after 1575. See Mr. Evan D. Jones' admirable essay in *National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol. I, p. 229. He also transcribed Llanstephan MS. 171 in 1574.

<sup>2</sup> See Dwnn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 32; for an authoritative account of him see Mr. Conway Davies' essay in *National Library of Wales Journal*, 1945.

*The Genealogy of The High and Mighty Monarch James . . .*, published in 1604. The title states that the king's genealogy is traced from "the greatest Princes of Christendome," and shows his "rightfull Title by lawful descent" to the kingdom of Britain. This work was done at the request of Robert Holland, vicar of Prendergast, whose address to His Majesty is included in the book. Holland states that the work is derived from the Druids who were "the first founders of Philosophy in Europe," and from the British bards "who to this day retained still the most curious Registring of the Discents of their Gentry," and it ends with an "earnest praier for the continuance of this Pedigree to the Worlde's end in your Royall Progeny." From the framework of the pedigree it is clear that George Owen Harry was familiar with the genealogical format of the medieval *Beibyl ynghymraec*. The pages are divided into alphabetical columns, headed A, B, C, D, etc., and trace the lines from Noah "the first Monarch of the World." Alongside the names of the ancestors appear some "historical" notes, some being in great detail. It is interesting to read that Kynan Wledic was "a valiant Gentleman, but litigious." He refers to the association with the Virgin, and he is sensitive to criticism on this head. He says: "... of this Beli Mawr, or Beli the great, most of our ancient British Genealogies take their originall, as a chiefe roote, whereof grew that toy, that the Welsh men deriue their Pedegrees from the blessed Virgin *Mary*, because in our Genealogies, his name is most often written with B.M. which in deede is *Beli Mawr*, and not *Beata Maria*, as they would falsely beare men in hande, to delvde our auncient Genealogies, & discredit the whole nation." After forty pages the narrative ends with tabular pedigrees, some of which are interesting since they show great ingenuity of form. One table is in the form of roundlets with coats of arms, tracing from Locrinus, Camber, Cadell, Mervyn, Anarawd, Gwaethfoed, etc. The king's descent from Charlemagne and Hengist the Saxon, and from Peleagius "the first Earl of Castile," is also traced. "The two and thirty Ancestours of Owen Tudyr" is given in "race-horse" pedigree form, and also in a form "reduced to a table of rundelets" drawn up in a most attractive manner. The king's descent is also traced from "The fyve kingly races of Cambria," in which we recognize the now popular *pump brenhinllwyth Cymru*. We close this book with the impression that its clerical author had demonstrated that there were few men of any importance from whom the royal author of "Counterblast to Tobacco" was not descended. We also conclude that the genealogical parson was not to be troubled by considerations of chronology when preparing such a dainty dish to set before the king.

To this school also belongs Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate near Tregaron (c. 1570–c. 1620). In common with the genealogists of the new school, he wrote mainly in English, and there is evidence that he was familiar with the manuscripts of Henllys, with those of



Lewis Dwnn, and also with North Wales collections. Humphrey Wanley, the cataloguer of the Harley library, seems to have formed a poor opinion of Thomas Jones, and says: "I have heard that this Jones of Fountayn-gatte was in his time a notable forger of Welsh pedigrees." It is not known on what evidence this statement was made. His contemporaries regarded him as a helpful and able genealogist, and his name is recorded by Dwnn as one of the *bonheddig* who assisted him, and by Dr. John David Rhys as a man of outstanding knowledge and without peer. His own pedigree shows him to have been descended from a good Welsh family although it is not quite clear to what extent the bend sinister applies to his immediate ancestry.<sup>1</sup> Several pedigrees compiled by him are included in Dwnn's work, and the deputy herald seems to lay store by "Pinawn Tomas Johns o Dregaron." Examples of his works are also found in Harl. MS. 1500 (fos. 32b, 33); Harl. MS. 2012 (fos. 31-50), which contains a fine emblazoned tree of the Mostyns made by him in 1604; Harl. MS. 1045 (fo. 114); and Harley Rolls Z 20. Mostyn MS. 212B, which contains emblazoned shields and pedigrees, may also have been his work. His handwriting is neat and firm, and the coloured shields of arms show that he was a capable heraldic painter. In 45 Elizabeth, Garter Dethick made an exemplification of arms (with the consent of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, who bore the same arms), and a grant of crest, to Walter Jones of Worcester, his write to the arms "as appereth by his pettegree and descent maid and collected out of sundrey Euidences By Thomas Jones of Tregaron a Gent industrs & Scienced in the antiquities and genealoges of the wor<sup>th</sup> Gent in hir Ma<sup>ties</sup> principalit of Wales" (*Misc. Grants of Arms*, Part I, p. 121). A pedigree by him, with a very interesting preface, is found in *Llyfr Baglan*, p. 323. The Cardiff MS. 59 is mostly his work. He spent some time collecting genealogies in Glamorgan, where he found time to admire the ladies of the "Fro" with the result that he quarrelled over one of them with Dafydd Benwyn of Llangeinwyr (*Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg*, p. 87). His work probably formed the basis for several pedigrees in Harl. MS. 3538, and those which glorify Fountain Gate (fos. 47-8, etc.) strongly suggest his hand, especially as we find his name quoted in the body of the work. A fine parchment emblazoned roll, written by him, in my possession, also contains a similar note relating to the importance of his Cardiganshire home in medieval days. His interests were not confined to South Wales, and he may have been the Thomas Jones, who with two others, was responsible for the pedigree of the Revd. Robert Prichard of North Wales in 1605. Hugh Thomas and William Lewes also based some of their pedigrees on the works of Thomas Jones. Most of his pedigrees are drawn up in tabular form with emblazoned arms, and he also used the "race-horse" pedigree

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent essay on him, based on historical evidence, by Mr. J. Frederick Jones, B.Sc., see *Trans. Carm. Antiq. Soc. and Field Club*, 1939, p. 77.

form, to which he added brief notes. He was one of the first (if not the first) Welsh genealogists to make out fully emblazoned roll pedigrees. The Cains (*pere* and *fil*s) also made emblazoned pedigree charts, generally on large square pieces of parchment.

Another important aspect of his work is, that like George Owen, he was one of the earliest Welsh genealogists to appreciate the importance of keeping track of younger sons. With this end in view he often traced pedigrees by patriarchal groups, a system later developed into a fine art by David Edwardes, Hugh Thomas, and William Lewes, and which found its ultimate expression in the Golden Grove book. Thus, apart from his local standing as a genealogist, Thomas Jones' main significance in the genealogical hierarchy is that he was a pioneer of those sound methods that were later to bring such credit to their practitioners.

To this school we add the name of Rhys Meyrick of Cottrell, a landowner, who compiled the pedigrees called "The Cottrell Book," and whose work, *Glamorgan Antiquities*, written in 1578,<sup>1</sup> shows that as a genealogist he was superior to most of his contemporaries. He was described by a seventeenth century writer as follows: "Rhys Amheurig or kottrel—gwnaeth ef vn or llyfrau tecka a chyfrwydda ynghymrv."<sup>2</sup> Rhys' book is important since he often names his authorities. He showed himself a true Welshman when he traced the pedigree of Eynon ap Collwyn through forty-one generations to Brutus, and claimed that this was but "a breek recytall of his posterity." He quoted the Register of Neath, "Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd," "written more than 200 yeares past," and also deeds and records. He also displayed caution, and had realized the value of the devolution of property in relation to pedigrees. Many interesting anecdotes and proverbs are also introduced. He had read a history called "Cadoge's book" and used "my old Manuscript of Pedegrees." To this period also belongs Anthony Powell of Llwydarth, Glamorgan (*ob.* 1618), a fine genealogist, who assisted Dwnn and whose manuscripts are quoted in *Llyfr Baglan*. His nephew Watkin Powell of Penyfael (*ob.* 1655) was also a fine genealogist and bard who flourished during the first half of the next century.

Several others were busy with genealogical works towards the end of the Golden Age, and may be considered part of the new school, such as John Guilleim (1562-1621), Rouge Dragon and author of *Display of Heraldry*; William Jones, author of *A Treatise of Nobility* (1595); Simon Thelwal of Plas-y-ward, and others. Sir John Wynne's *History of Gwydir* is another good example of the genealogical history of this period, and he neatly sums up the attitude of the old Welsh *bonheddig* to their pedigrees: "Yet a great temporall

<sup>1</sup> Privately printed by Sir J. Phillipps of Middle Hill. Llewelyn Sion quotes from *Llyfr y Cottrell* (Harl. MS. 2414).

<sup>2</sup> Llanstephan MS. 156 (1630-68); see also *Arch. Camb.*, 1890, p. 321.

bllesinge yt is, and a great harts ease to a man to finde that he is well dissended, and a greater greef it is for upstarts and gent of the first head to looke backe unto their dissents beinge base in such sorte . . ." (p. 36). It is a thousand pities that no details have survived of the Star Chamber proceedings where Sir John had to answer a Bill of Complaint brought against him in 1604, by Thomas Price, for several misdemeanours including "claiming descent from a Prince of Wales."<sup>1</sup>

Amongst churchmen with an interest in genealogy was Richard Davies (1501–81), Bishop of St. Davids (1562–81), who translated some of the epistles for the first Welsh New Testament. He published a funeral sermon on the death of Walter, Earl of Essex (ob. 1576), to which were prefixed verses written on his lordship's pedigree in Latin, Hebrew, French, and Welsh. George Owen of Henllys quotes a very interesting poem relating to the siege of Carmarthen in 1130, and states: ". . . there were certeine verses or rather latine meeters found in auncient Brittish or Welsh books with the late reverend ffather Richard Davids Bishopp of St Davids had in his custodie and wch as I have sithens were found written in a table of Brasse. . . ." In his youth the Bishop had been a pupil of Lewis Dwnn.

(d) *Genealogy and the Great Sessions.*

Certain actions brought before the courts of Great Sessions (established in 1542) show how intimately genealogy was bound up with the old land-tenure, and the instances cited below are taken from the Pembrokeshire Plea Rolls kept in the Public Record Office. The first few examples relate to actions connected with realty, and the others with the challenge pedigrees so characteristic of these courts.

In 1569, Phillip Thomas, William Thomas, David Cole, and James Cole, brought an action respecting fifteen acres of land in Parke lloyn y marghoge in Bayvyll in kemes, against one Owen Vachan ap Owen. The plea shows the root of title as vested in one John Peverell, after whose death the lands descended to his only son Howell Peverell. Howell had two daughters, Agnes Peverell who died without issue, and Eve Peverell the ultimate sole heiress. This Eve married (her husband's name is not recorded) and had two daughters—Nest the elder, and Morvyth the younger who married Thomas, by whom she had Phillip Thomas and William Thomas, two of the plaintiffs. Nest, the elder daughter, married — Cole, by whom she had Howell Cole. This Howell Cole was the father of David Cole and James Cole, the two other plaintiffs. The plea recorded "quod eadem tenementa . . . fuerunt de tenura et natura de Gavelkynd," and that the lands had been held by the Peverells

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, No. 278. For other genealogical references see Nos. 94, 595, 732, 1387.



under such tenure from time to which the memory of man ran not to the contrary. According to the genealogical computation of years, John Peverell the first-named ancestor lived *c.* 1350, and this is supported by documents of the barony of Cemes now preserved in the National Library of Wales. These baronial records show that this identical property (*inter alia*) was held *c.* 1250 by a John Peverell, and that it descended to his son David Peverell, and from the said David to his two sons John Peverell and Robert Peverell, both of whom were living in 1354. There can be little doubt that the John Peverell mentioned in the Plea Rolls was identical with the John Peverell who was alive in 1354. It is interesting to note that the Peverells, who were not Welsh in origin, had formed a family group in Welsh Pembrokeshire and held land according to the Welsh tenure.<sup>1</sup> The smallness of the property in question (fifteen acres) is typical of what eventually happened after many subdivisions under gavelkind. I have found many cases in the earlier Welsh Plea Rolls of men described as labourers, but holding three, four, or five acres freehold by hereditary descent as members of a *bonheddig* group.

As may well be imagined, gavelkind led to much quarrelling and bickering, which suited the lawyers, and which in many ways is a boon to modern Welsh genealogists. Many of these troubles occurred shortly after the abolition of the old tenure, when younger sons and other relatives made determined bids to acquire a greater share of the ancestral acres. Examples are found in the Pembrokeshire Plea Rolls. An action between some Newport freeholders in 1569 also shows how a Welsh name was beginning to assume the modern form, namely Powell from ap Howel. The plea reveals that an elder brother had taken advantage of the abolition of gavelkind to the disinherison of his younger brothers. William ap Powell ap Jankyn and Griffith ap Powell ap Jankyn sued Thomas ap Powell ap Jankyn, for two parts of three messuages and 214 acres in Newport, which they claimed as heirs of their father Howell ap Jankyn who had died before the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, 33 Henry VIII, holding the said lands *de tenura Wallicana*, and they alleged that the eldest brother had seised all the property to the disseisin of his younger brothers. The ancient Pembrokeshire family of Martin of Rickeston had held lands in Brawdy parish as early as 1300, partly by gavelkind and partly by the feudal tenure. The heiress of this family, Alice Martin, married David, an illegitimate son of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and their children adopted the settled surname of ap Rees. In 1554 William ap Rees sued his elder brother Thomas ap Rees, for his share of thirty-five messuages, two water grain mills, one fulling mill, and 790 acres in Dewsland

<sup>1</sup> Provision was made in the Welsh laws for *advenae* to become members of a native freeholding tribal group. This involved residential qualifications of so many generations and the marrying of Welsh women.

and Cemes, which their mother Alice had held by "Welsh tenure" before the Act of Henry VIII. The elder brother denied this and said that he would produce evidence to prove that his deceased mother had held by the "English tenure" only. The judge ordered a jury to examine the matter, but unfortunately no findings are recorded. It would seem that some compromise was effected as further evidence in the Plea Rolls and in the family deeds shows that the younger son was allowed to reside at Rickeston and to take certain profits from the estate. The difficulties were finally removed by the elder brother's death without issue, and the second brother, William, then inherited all the property, which, as the deeds prove, was held by him absolutely.

The abolition of the old tenure led to many family troubles and possibly to some injustice. I have been particularly struck, during my genealogical researches in Wales, by the number of times I have been informed by landless labourers and craftsmen that their forebears had been "done out" of some land—it is always land, never money or other form of personalty. I wonder now whether this may have been a faint echo of the abolition of gavelkind when younger sons were disinherited at one stroke. Celtic memories are long. Of course it may have been connected with the reason that precluded Mr. Jorrocks's famous huntsman from taking his seat among the landed gentry, namely a certain difficulty in the matter of paternity.

The practice of these courts makes interesting study, and to the genealogist one of its most important features was the "challenge to the favour." This was a species of challenge for cause, and was entered where the plaintiff or defendant could show cause of likely favour in the suit; that is to say, if any of the parties were related to the sheriff, coroner, or any other officer of the court, or to any of the jurors, a *calumpnus* in the form of a pedigree was entered to prove such relationship. This pedigree was sworn on oath and carefully examined. Then the prothonotary made it out in tabular form, which was afterwards entered on the plea roll in sentence form. These pedigrees, of which there is a very large number, are of prime importance, and as they were examined in open court and sworn on oath, there can be little doubt as to their correctness. Some of them trace as many as ten generations, and contain collateral descents of cadet and distaff branches, sometimes showing the relationship of humble families to powerful landowners, which had not been considered worthy of inclusion in Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations* and in other pedigree collections. A good example is found in the plea rolls for the spring sessions of 1637 for Pembrokeshire, when Anne Gwynn, widow of Jenkin Gwynn of Jordanston, sued Lewis Gwynn in a plea of dower, for one-third of thirty-four messuages, one water corn mill, and 5,500 acres of land in Granston, St. Nicholas, Llanunda, Jordanston, Marthry, "Pluwly ar groes" [Whitchurch in

Dewslan], Dynas, Fishgard, and St. Davids. Rees Jones of Ludlow, attorney for the defence, denied Anne's right, and produced challenge pedigrees to show how she was related to Sir John Stepney (sheriff 1636-7), John Philipps of Ffynnongain (sheriff 1637-8), William Jones of Brawdy (coroner), etc. This challenge has been selected because the attorney who made the pedigrees was himself a brother of William Jones the coroner, and would thus have had an intimate personal knowledge of the genealogies apart from a purely professional interest in them. Ten pedigrees were given in this formidable challenge, of which two were as follows:—

I. Anne wife of William Jones the coroner was daughter of Richard Philipps son of James Philipps son of Elizabeth Bowen daughter of Sir James Bowen knight son of Owen Bowen son of William son of Llewelyn ab Owen who was the father of Rees father of Gwilym father of David father of Owen father of John father of Owen Johns who was the father of the plaintiff Anne the widow of Jenkin Gwynn: Anne the wife of William Jones the coroner was also sister of John Philipps then High Sheriff.

II. William Jones the coroner was the son of John Jones by his wife Jane Bowen daughter of Henry Bowen of Upton Castle, son of Rees Bowen son of Rees Bowen son of Thomas son of Morris son of Owen son of Griffith ap Nicholas of Dinevor who was the father of Mablie verch Griffith mother of Alice Mansel mother of Margaret Craddock mother of George Herbert father of Elizabeth Herbert mother of Catherine Owen who was the mother of the plaintiff Anne the widow of Jenkin Gwynn.

The sentence method is easily followed. The descent of one party is traced upwards to a common ancestor, and then traced downwards through another branch. Readers will be struck by the fact that the relationships were pretty distant. The plaintiff Ann Gwynn was sixth cousin to Henry Bowen the maternal grandfather of William Jones! Similarly Anne the wife of William Jones was sixth cousin to the plaintiff! The recognition and knowledge of such remote relationships remains a Welsh characteristic to this day, and the phrase "I trace to the ninth generation" (*y nawfed ach*) is a Welsh proverb. Both pedigrees given above trace from 1637 to 1400, which to modern minds is a feat in itself. I have tested both trees with deeds and public records and have found them to be accurate.

Sometimes challenge pedigrees strayed from official custody (that is, the tabular ones), and several are bound up in Welsh manuscripts. Others were copied from the official records and incorporated into genealogical works. A copy of a challenge pedigree taken from the Breconshire Great Sessions is found on fo. 128 of Harl. MS. 3525, a manuscript inscribed, "llyvyr Gohelyth hyw havart o Aber hodny ymrychinog," written in 1580. This *calumptyus* shows the common descent from Meredydd ap Madoc Havard, through six generations to Llewelin ap Meredith "modo quer" (now plaintiff) and John Hywel "now s[er]giant." In Mr. Edward Owen's *Catalogue* (Vol. II, p. 397) this has been described as "John Hywel [wife] now pregnant." A most curious reading I vow.



The characteristics of the Golden Age may be summarized as follows :—

1. The school of Guttun Owain represents the old Welsh tradition, and admits of very few English influences. Heraldry is not a notable feature of it.

2. The school of Griffith Hiraethog, although deeply rooted in the Welsh tradition, shows more English influence. Heraldry occupied an important place in it. With this school ended the glories of the Welsh bards.

3. The new school was confined to landed gentlemen who based their works on the English methods. Poetry is not part of their stock-in-trade. They abandoned most of the subjects studied by the previous compilers of manuscripts and confined themselves to genealogy and heraldry.

4. The old conventions—tracing to Brutus and Adam, the pedigrees of the mothers—are retained by all schools, and the terminology is traditional.

5. The five royal tribes of Wales and the fifteen tribes of Gwynedd were established during this period.

6. There was a marked tendency to associate the pedigrees of the royal family and peers with the native genealogies.

7. There was a tendency to incorporate more biographical detail, anecdotes, etc., into the genealogical corpus, and the family history as distinct from the family pedigree, was about to be born. This was developed in a high degree in the following century.

8. All classes took an interest in genealogy. While the English congregated on village greens to play at ball and other games, the Welsh met to sing and discuss pedigrees. A report on the state of North Wales written about 1600, Lansdowne MS. 111, fo. 10, may be taken as representative of the whole country. After stating that the people are superstitious and given to papistical practices, venerating idols, and making pilgrimages (sometimes barefooted), the writer states : "The moave for the meetinge and knowledge of the time whan the pilgrimes shall come is cheeflie wroughte by their pencars or heade minstrells whoe at the direcc'on of some ould gentlewooman doe ordenarilie geve the somons of the time certaine for suche meatings. / Upon the sondaies and hollidaies the multitude of all sortes of men woomen and childerne of everie parishe doe use to meete in sondrie places either one some hill or one the side of some mountaine where their harpers and crowthers singe them songs of the doeings of their Auncestors, namelie, of their warrs againste the kings of this realme and the English nac'on, and then doe they ripp upp their petigres at lenght howe eche of them is discended from those their ould princs. Here alsoe doe they spende their time in hearinge some parte of the lives of Thalaassyn, Marlin, Beno Kybbye, Jeruu', and suche other the intended

prophetts and saincts of that cuntrie." It was perhaps at such a concourse of tribesfolk that Sir John Wynn boasted of his princely descent thereby causing Thomas Prys to gnash his teeth in fury and report the business to the Star Chamber.

9. It was the period when arms were "assigned" to "ancestors."

10. It was the period when Welsh genealogists started to hold appointments under the College of Arms and accept its authority.

#### IV. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The seventeenth century was an important chapter in Welsh genealogical history, and despite the upheavals that marked it, the continuity of the genealogical tradition remained unbroken. We have already seen that a new school of antiquaries had come to the fore at the end of the preceding century, and it was during the period now under review that the fruits of that school were gathered. A brief review of the dominant influences of this period will assist us to appreciate the practice of genealogy and heraldry as shown in the manuscripts. These factors were:—

1. Economic, which marked the rise of a new gentry and the establishment of a powerful middle class.

2. Political, whose landmarks were the Civil War, the Restoration, and the "Revolution" of 1688.

3. Religious, which saw the birth of the dissenting sects which were later to become potent factors in both Welsh and English history.

The economic situation was the outcome of the policies initiated in the sixteenth century. The redistribution of property had become very pronounced by the end of the reign of James I. In Wales two apparently contradictory tendencies were evident, namely the formation of large estates and also the survival of a very large number of small freeholds held by descendants of the minor native *bonheddig*, although in certain areas we notice evidence of the disintegration of this latter class. Into these landowning classes there also came an appreciable number of new people who had made money by commercial enterprise. But we must be very careful when we consider these new people, because it was a recognized practice among the gentry for younger sons (and sometimes elder sons too) to enter trade. Thus, a large number of these successful tradesmen were men of ancient and worshipful families, and although setting up later in life as country gentlemen they cannot be regarded as "new men" in the modern sense of the term. In fact, the great majority of the "new rich" of this period were members of our oldest families. In Wales the great landowning families and the richer younger sons were, in the main, members of the main lines of the tribal stocks which had come into prominence after the abolition of gavelkind. The tribal group had been

extinguished, and the occupation of land was now vested in the individual. The tragic degradation of the minor *bonheddig*—the distant cousins of the main line—is a pathetic feature of this century, and we will see later how complete this degradation was, and how it swelled the numbers of the *gwerin*. In the early part of the century Wales saw the consolidation of the economic and political influence of the descendants of the main lines of the tribal stocks, and the acquisition of posts in the legal administration, the Church the Army, and industry by the younger sons of those main lines. The major *bonheddig* now became squires, they took their cue from England, and their anglicization was well-nigh complete by the end of the century. Humphrey Llwyd (1527–68) had noted this tendency in the previous century and had stated that Welshmen were beginning to think and behave as Englishmen, although there were still some who were “impatient of labour” and given to “ouermuch boastying of the Nobilitie of their stocke” (*The Breuiary of Britayne*, p. 60).

In the first half of this century Welsh estates, with certain exceptions, were still small, particularly from the view of annual value. Major-General Berry, in a letter to Cromwell, stated: “You can sooner find fifty gentlemen [in Wales] of £100 a year than five of £500.” A list of esquires in England and Wales, drawn up in the reign of Charles I (Harl. MS. 6804), gives the following number of esquires in Wales:—

Monmouthshire ..	34	Anglesey ..	15
Glamorganshire ..	33	Carnarvonshire ..	15
Breconshire ..	20	Denbighshire ..	28
Radnorshire ..	23	Flintshire ..	20
Carmarthenshire ..	20	Merionethshire ..	25
Pembrokeshire ..	36	Montgomeryshire ..	32
Cardiganshire ..	16		

The term esquire was loosely used and there was often no actual difference in the lives and manners of men designated as esquires and those described as gentlemen. The latter were quite often minor freeholders, their claim to gentility being their pedigree and not their annual value. The old jingle about Radnorshire was not without significance and may well be applicable to several other Welsh shires:—

There is neither a park nor a deer,  
To be seen in all Radnorshire;  
Nor a man with five hundred a year  
Except Sir William Fowler of Abbey Cwmhir.

The Civil Wars involved large numbers of Welsh landowners who declared mainly for the royal cause. The tradition of loyalty to the Crown was strong in a people who had been led for so many centuries by the descendants of five royal tribes, and who had but lately seen a dynasty of their own kith and kin holding the sceptre and the orb. With a few exceptions, the Welsh gentlemen emerged from the wars with their economic position strengthened but the



minor freeholders found themselves in a bad way. Thus, during the latter half of the century we find these smaller freeholders, descendants of famous tribal groups selling out to their wealthier neighbours. This completed their degradation, and thenceforth Wales became a land of many squires. The yeoman class as it existed in England was unknown in Wales, and the description "yeoman" in Welsh deeds of this period was more of a fiction than a fact, for we know that a large number of men so described were leaseholders, and sometimes very short leaseholders.

While every schoolboy knows about Hampden and ship-money, few know of John Jones and his Welsh pedigree. It is the only known example of a citizen objecting to the imposition of taxes on the grounds of genealogy, and it is an interesting example of the influence of pedigrees on the Welsh mind. He was John Jones, a landowner, of Coed y Mynydd,<sup>1</sup> and some time before 1649 he compiled: "The answeare of John Jones gente to wrongfull Impositiones of money Imposed uppon hym or his lands by any of The Parlament Officers against the lawe and Justice of this land of Wales, p[re]sented to the ho[nour]able generall Thomas Mitton generall of the kings and Parlament forces in North Wales &c."<sup>2</sup> The memorialist gives in much detail the ancient tenures as laid down by Dyfynwal Moelmud King of Britain some 2,400 years previously! Then follows a detailed pedigree tracing from Moelmud and the successive kings of Britain, to the Princes of Powys, the lords of Englefield, and finally to John Jones himself—in all, sixty-three generations! He says of his lands, and particularly of his manor of Koed y mynydd "which was the mansione house of the lo. of Englefield these 700 : yeares or there abouts," that they are not liable to taxation, because he holds "by descent from the said Dyfynwal Moel mud this 2400 : yeares agoe or thereabouts." He further states that to disturb these tenures would be to destroy the commonwealth, government, Crown, and religion, and that the destruction of this ancient tenure is "the gretest Treasone that ever was sett a foote in the land or cause to be devised to be sett afoote and can be termed by noe other terme but Treasones of Treasones or quintessence of all Treasones." Whether Mytton and his lieutenants paled on reading this formidable document and bowed their heads with humility before his royal highness John Jones we can only conjecture, but it is an extraordinary thing that a highly intelligent Welsh squire of that period should have invoked a pedigree claiming a title of 2,400 years in defence of his patrimony. We find a similar example of this appeal to a pedigree after the

<sup>1</sup> See the pedigrees of Jones of Stanley Hall, Salop, and Carreghova, Denbighshire, baronets; Jones of Chilton, Salop; Jones of Old Moreton Hall, Salop, and Llanerchrugog Hall, Denbighshire; see also Harl. MSS. 1977, 1396.

<sup>2</sup> Printed at length in *Arch. Camb.*, 1862, pp. 145–6. The original draft in the holograph of John Jones was then at Llanerchrugog Hall.

Restoration, in a memorial to Charles II by John Gwyn<sup>1</sup> The memorial concludes: "Least it may not be enough to have no more to say then to be a gentleman as I am a Welshman, or by ye Commission I had, and to answer those subtile and private objections made against me upon that account, I do here most humbly produce my whole Coat of Armes, with my Paternall Line, and certainly, if there [are] any Gentlemen of my Forefathers, I have something in me descended from those persons, for I presume as they were gentlemen they were just, so (under favour) am I honest, which with one tenet more is the totall of my religion too. . . ." This is followed by a coat of arms of six quarters, and some genealogy which shows Gwyn to be a descendant of the house of Trelydan in Montgomeryshire, which traced to Bleddyn ap Cynfyn. A good descent was respected and highly prized during this century, and Brigadier Young very kindly drew my attention to unpublished letters in the British Museum relating to the Civil Wars, which state that special consideration was to be given to captured gentlemen of worshipful families.

A study of the manuscripts of William Lewes and Hugh Thomas show how the *gwerin* was swelled in this century with the broken men whose positions in the group pedigrees were too far removed from their more powerful relations to be of practical value to them. It will be shown how the cousins of the main agnatic lines found themselves submerged in the anonymous mass of the *gwerin*. It is the pathetic tale of the fate of the *cefnder*, *ceifn*, *gorcheifn*, and *gorchaw*, who became part of the labouring population, craftsmen and fishermen, and many of their descendants in later times became the leaders of Nonconformity, of the moonlight rides of Rebecca, and of the turbulent upsurge of the miners of the Rhondda. Sir John Wynne had spoken of gavelkind in its decay as having "brought to the estate of meane freehowlders, and soe havinge forgotten their descents and petygree are become as yf they never had bene." The abolition of gavelkind had been a cause for reducing many more. In the following lists I have selected certain famous Welsh family groups and detailed those members of them which had lost their birthright. Owing to exigencies of space I have had to reduce the numbers, but many more could have been added. Most of the names given are of people who were living in the general period 1650-1700.

*Gwynfardd Dyfed.* Thomas Owen of Mynyddmelin, Harry Benbach of Cilrhedyn, farmers; Owen Bowen of Nevern, pauper; Richard Thomas of Carmarthen, felt-maker; Rees James of Llangeler, pauper; Thomas Morgan of Cardigan, corvisor; Thomas Evans of Cilrhedyn, servant; David Griffith Dedwydd of Cemes, pedlar; John James of Newcastle Emlyn, mercer; Ievan Howel

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Add. MS. 4208. He was a captain in the King's Regiment of Guards. See D.N.B. See also Sir Walter Scott, *Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War, Being the military memoirs of John Gwynne*, etc. Edinburgh, 1822.

of Llangolman, weaver; Robert Lloyd of Newcastle Emlyn, fisherman. William Griffith of Penybenglog, a prominent landlord descended from Gwynfardd, traced in 1655 the descent of "my ploughman" Robert Bowen to the same illustrious ancestor: Revd. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, son of a farmer.

*Rhys ap Tewdwr*—Lewis Lloyd of Carmarthen, felt-maker; Robert Bidder of Carmarthen, corvisor; Francis Jones of Llan-ybydder, farmer; William Williams, "belonging to ye stables at Whitehall" in 1680; Thomas Jones of Llanvihangel Rhos, yeoman.

*Cadifor ap Dinawal*—David John Walter of Llanwenog, tailor and jockey, who espoused a frightful female called Sarah Bwmp; Griffith Lloyd of Llanfechan, tanner; John Lloyd of Llandyssul, fiddler, and his son John Lloyd Pwt y galon, and his grandson David John Lloyd, fiddler; Lewis Lloyd, a tiler.

*Elystan Glodrydd*—Morris Lloyd alehousekeeper of the Royal Oak, Carmarthenshire, 1686; Richard Morris of Carmarthen, tailor, and his son, John, a corvisor; Anthony Morgan of London, tailor; Henry Rees of Llwyn Cadfor, corvisor.

*Caradoc Freichfras*—David Llewelin of Breconshire, weaver; John ap Richard of Glantawy, blacksmith.

*Bleddyn ap Cynfyn*—John Bowen bach of Llanrithan, Pembrokeshire, farmer.

*Tydwal Gloff*—Anthony Jones of Carmarthen, corvisor; John Lloyd of Newcastle Emlyn, servant; Griffith Lewis of Carmarthen, mercer; Benjamin Howel of Abernant, blacksmith.

*Cadifor Fawr*—Rees Llewelyn of Defynock, tailor; Harry Jones of the Post Office, Carmarthen; William Evans of Carmarthen, a dissenting minister, and his brother, Thomas Evans of Brecon, carpenter; John Morgan of Carmarthen, mercer; John Richard of Carmarthen, carpenter; Thomas Lewis of Newton Nottage, dyer; Thomas Lewis of Cynwil, alehousekeeper; Morgan Price of Spittlefields, London, silk-weaver; Lewis Thomas of London, stationer.

*Owain Gwynedd*—Evan Morgan, shopkeeper, and David Morgan, alehousekeeper, both of Llanrhystid, Cardiganshire; Evan Lloyd of the same place, glover.

*Brychan Brycheiniog*—Thomas Jenkin of Defynock, tailor; Watkin Lloyd of Brecon, servant; Rhys Powell of Brecknock, currier; Andrew Llewelin of Brecon, haberdasher, and his son John Andrew, tailor; Morgan Watkin of Brecon, attorney-at-law and vintner at the Old Bear (1718).

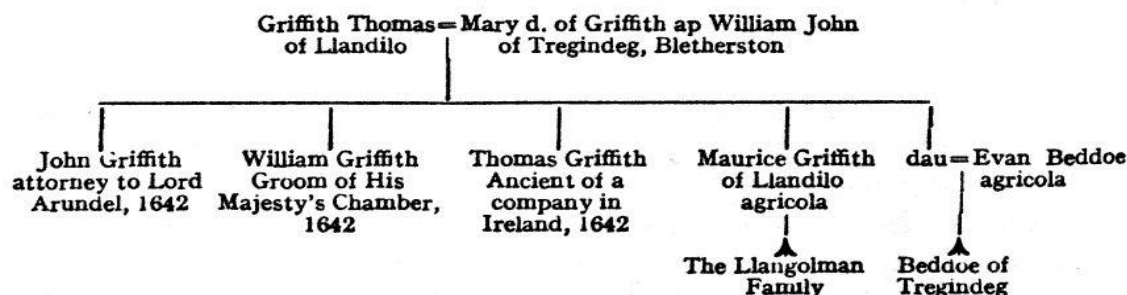
*Howel Melyn*—Richard Rees of Gwernllwyn Uchaf, Glamorgan, a dissenting minister (c. 1740–50).

One of the reasons for the younger branches finding themselves in this sad state was the size of the families. A glance at the published pedigrees of Lewis Dwnn and at the wills in probate

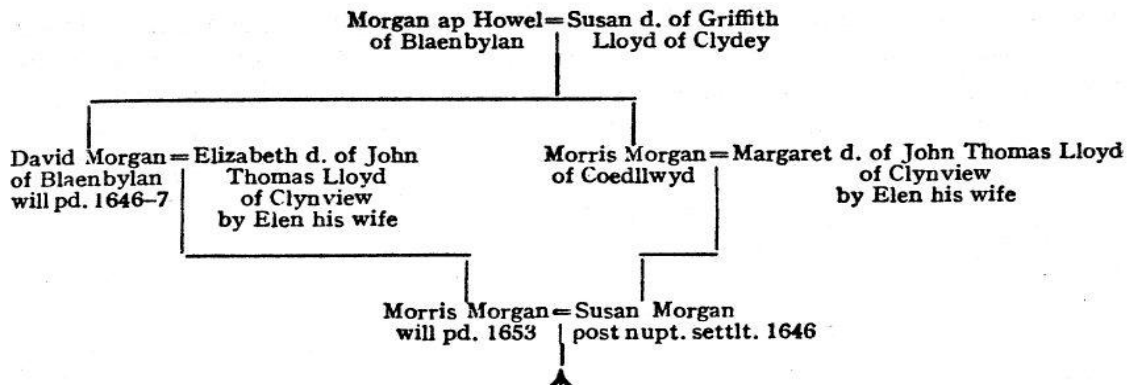


registries show that the Welsh paterfamilias was blessed in having a quiverful, but whether this was a blessing for the contents of the quiver is another matter. It is certain that the blessing was not a temporal one. The Golden Grove MS., which has preserved the history of younger branches with great care, clearly shows why they lost their social and economic status. Tombstones also recorded the immense activity of our ancestors. A slab in the chancel in Conway church to the memory of William Hookes, gentleman, showed that he was the forty-first child of his father, and himself the father of twenty-seven children by his wife Alce. When he died on 20th March, 1637-8, it is hardly likely that he had been able to provide a competence for all the blessings. Jane Price of Dwryd in Merionethshire, perhaps not to be compared with Alce Hookes, had only twelve children, but when she died in 1694 she had forty-seven grandchildren and thirteen great-great-grandchildren (Harl. MS. 2129). The pedigree of one of the leading Carmarthen-shire landowning families shows that after a marriage in 1682 the squire's wife "had 20 children in 28 years, and no twins, besides 11 miscarriages in the meantime." In many instances, several of the children died young, but not always in numbers sufficient to influence the family economy.

It will be appreciated that there were not enough heiresses in Wales to go round these regiments of younger sons, with the result that the younger sons and the daughters often had to make humble alliances. Many of the younger sons went far afield into the fighting services and to the colonies, while others who stayed at home became clergymen, attorneys, apothecaries, and tradesmen. The pedigree of an ancient landowning family of Llandilo, Pembrokeshire, shows that the older sons sometimes departed, leaving the "cyw melyn ola" to inherit what little personalty and realty remained.



This state of affairs also led to intermarriage, a business to which our ancestors had been always prone, and things occurred in this century that must have caused the good Giraldus to writhe in his leaden coffin. George William Griffith records a marriage of *double first cousins* which occurred in the family of Morgan of Blaenbylan, Pembrokeshire :—



That is, the fathers of Morris and Susan were brothers, and their mothers were sisters. Some one hundred years later the brilliant Morris Morgan of Blaenbylan (strangely neglected by his countrymen) could point to the above marriage in his family tree, and say "Eo sum genere gnatus." Marriages of cousins and of more distant relations were normal events. In armorial families this led to a considerable repetition of coats of arms in the marshalled achievements. A striking example of this is found in the heraldic history of Jones of Tregyb, Carmarthenshire.

Great care has to be taken with the manuscripts of this period, particularly those written by Englishmen and copyists. For example, there is a *bonheddig* described in the Golden Grove MS. (P.R.O. copy) as living at "Hilfreda." But the original manuscript shows quite clearly several pedigrees headed "Hil Freda," and traces the descents from a notable North Pembrokeshire ancestress named Mreda.<sup>1</sup> The works of Randle Holme provide some quaint examples. In 1630 the worthy Holme explains the title of Aleth brenin Dyfed as "in English, king of the sheepe or planes plentifull of sheepe" (Harl. MS. 1973). But Holme's crowning glory appears on folio 119a of Harl. MS. 1973. It is the pedigree of a North Wales family called Lloyd, obviously copied from a Welsh source. In the descent appears "David Lloyd son of Jenkin ap Morris o gariadwraig." On the strength of this, Holme calmly headed this pedigree, "Lloyd of Gariadwraig"! But every true Welshman knows that *gariadwraig* is not a place-name.

The Civil Wars did not have an immediate effect on the redistribution of property. However, the smaller estates began to crumble, and by the end of the century many of these proprietors were selling out to their wealthier neighbours. An examination of the Golden Grove MS. and other genealogical compilations of the period 1680-1700 reveals the words "he sold all" with a tragic frequency. The land tax often stood at twenty per cent of gross values, mortgage rates at seven to eight per cent, and low prices for corn (especially in 1666-71) all contributed to the final extinction of many of the

<sup>1</sup> The names Mareda and Marereda occur frequently in medieval Pembrokeshire deeds. See also Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, 384-5.

smaller freeholders who had, in the majority of instances, held their patrimonial acres for several generations. The greater squires weathered all storms, and as they also invested in mineral and commercial ventures (sometimes in the colonies), their wealth increased. They used this wealth to extend their estates and thereby their political interests. By the end of the century the advantages of primogeniture had been fully reaped by the senior lines of the Welsh families, and as we have already indicated the younger sons had often prospered in trade and in the professions. It was not considered undignified in this century for a wealthy Pembrokeshire squire to lead a pack-horse loaded with locks and keys to Cardigan market where they were exposed for sale, or to sell a hundredweight of coal to the Haverfordwest corporation. Many of the younger sons prospered as tradesmen in the city of London, which was a great attraction for Welshmen. Their pedigrees and arms appear in several of the London *Visitations*, such as in 1634, when we read the names of Thomas Jones of London, dyer (from Owain Cyfeiliog); Richard Morris, barber-surgeon of Billingsgate (from Vaughan of Tretower); David Edwards of Candlestick Ward, draper (from William Bola); Sontley of Candlewick Street (from Sonlle of Sonlle); Edmund Turberville of London, grocer, whose name indicates his origin; Thomas Vaughan of Tower Ward, haberdasher (from Moreiddig Warwyn); and many others. The number of Welsh pedigrees entered in the *Visitations* of English counties show that these emigrants took with them their pedigree records when they left their native hills. The Welsh attachment to their pedigrees and their attitude towards trade was not clearly appreciated by Humphrey Wanley. Thus, in Harl. MS. 2100, fos. 80b-89, is a very fine pedigree (with its quota of Welsh monarchs) of Piers Davies of Chester, linen-draper, "Truely collected, gathered, and sett downe according to the Auncient Records of Wales, and the bookes of the best aproved Authors of the Brittithe genealogies, by me Evan Lloid of Paley, in the com. of Merioneth, gent., al's Evan Lloid Jeffrey, A<sup>o</sup>.D. 1634." Wanley's comment is: "It seems very hard that so many crowns, coronets, royal and noble dames as adorn this true pedigree (forsooth!) at the beginning, should dwindle into a linen-draper in the end."

On the whole, the traditional social life of the people saw few changes during this tumultuous century. While it is true that the majority of the great landowners adopted English standards, the lesser landowners and the agrarian population retained their "Welshness." The attachment to family life and family pedigrees was still very marked, although the bards and the itinerant singers no longer formed an important part of society. The pride of ancestry is revealed in the armorial bearings and motto of Griffith Vaughan of Corsygedol (High Sheriff of Merioneth, 1588 and 1603, *ob.* 1616). His shield showed sixteen quarterings, and in the paw of the demilion rampant which did duty as the crest, was a scroll



whereon were inscribed the words "Immaculata gens."<sup>1</sup> The pedigrees of this period mainly take the tabular form, but we find more being emblazoned and otherwise illuminated. Several appear in the target form and the *Wyth Rhan Rieni*, also emblazoned. The narrative form did not disappear, and it enjoyed an Indian summer of popularity again towards the end of the century. Some pedigrees combined the narrative and the tabular forms, and this combination was employed in pedigrees of North Wales families drawn up about 1639, in Cardiff MS. 45, Peniarth MS. 288, and Peniarth MS. 235, where the narrative is clarified by marginal links. The genealogists continued to trace the pedigrees of the reigning monarchs to Welsh sources. We have noted George Owen Harry's printed pedigree of James I, and another was made by Dr. John David Rhys. This was the *Regiae maiestatis genealogia Britannia vera*,<sup>2</sup> which is a translation of a Welsh work by the doctor. It is a normal conventional pedigree, tracing James' descent from various Welsh princes, and contains some extremely interesting pieces of poetry, one of which summarizes the "pym্প brenhinlwyth" as follows:—

Bledhyn, Rhys, Gruphudh—wrth argraphv  
Jestyn, Elystan, dros Gymrv  
Drwy barch ben y tri bv  
Y tair talaith, ond ta'r tevlv (fo. 268).

A similar pedigree was made tracing Charles II to Adam.<sup>3</sup> Neither was the pedigree of the Lord Protector ignored. Cromwell was descended from an ancient Welsh family tracing from the kings and princes of Wales, some of whose arms he marshalled in his shield. Vincent gives "the pedigree of Oliver Cromwell of ever damned memory," and traced him to Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, Prince of Powis.

The pedigrees of the mothers continued to be recorded. One pedigree gave "Jachau y Brenin Siamas I o du fam,"<sup>4</sup> which was drawn up in order to connect him with his Welsh ancestry. Many other examples of the mothers of Welsh landowners are shown in the same way and for similar reasons, namely to derive them from some favourite ancestor which could only be traced through ancestresses. On the whole, the genealogical practice of this century was along traditional Welsh lines, although there were several examples of the adoption of English standards which will be noticed when we examine the genealogists of this period. The surnames that had been of such assistance to the men of the Golden Age had now largely disappeared, although they were still found in remote parts and in the humbler families. The adoption of permanent surnames resulted in large numbers of people bearing similar names, and this

<sup>1</sup> "Hyny yw Bonedd dilygredig" saith Lewis Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, Vol. II, pp. 219–20.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Faustina E ii, fos. 258–72b.

<sup>3</sup> Peniarth MS. 115, fo. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Peniarth MS. 125, fo. 143.

led some people to claim kinship with more illustrious people on the ground that being of the same name they were necessarily of the same blood. This, of course, did not follow, and the impudent practice inspired a writer in Jesus College MS. 18 to note: "The surname of Lloyd, Gwynne, or Vaughan, is taken up of every upstart as (indeed) they maye; they being names that nurses are to give them in their cradles—*omne simile non est idem*—"

Nid Llwyd pob Llwyd, wrth y llâth—i rhwygir  
 Mai rhagor rhwng deufath  
 Mai Llwyd Llunden or hênfath  
 A llwyd pum ceiniog y llath.

It might have been expected by those unfamiliar with Welsh custom that the stabilizing of surnames would be of great assistance to genealogists. The opposite, however, was the case. The John Jones who lived in 1650 was ensured of anonymity but the John ap John ap Rhys who lived in 1550, however humble his situation, did at least present us with several rungs of his immediate genealogical ladder, which sometimes led to his identification. Despite the tendency, the traditional style of nomenclature continued to be employed by the minor *bonheddig* and farmers, and the monumental inscriptions and deeds of the seventeenth century pay eloquent testimony to its virility.

During the course of this survey we have noticed many claims of divine descent, of descent from Biblical prophets, Roman emperors, and British kings, but in this century we find a claim far more startling than the foregoing, namely of a descent from fairies! That men could be born as a result of an association with an incubus or some supernatural being was a basic belief of the Middle Ages. The loss of the fairy wife because of the husband's failure to observe some condition also occurred in medieval folk-lore. The most popular tale known to Wales is that of the Lady of Llyn y Fan Fach, and it is here that we find the medieval legend being brought into association with Welsh genealogy. Rhiwallon, the eldest son of a Welsh farmer by the Lady of the Lake, and his sons, became physicians to Rhys Gryg, lord of Llandovery and Dinevor, and founded the line of the famous physicians of Myddfai of whom Dafydd ap Gwilym sang:—

Meddyg ni wnâi modd y gwnaeth  
 Myddfai, o châl ddyn meddfaeth.

Many descendants of this family still live in Carmarthenshire. Among the most illustrious of them was Dr. Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, who died at Glassallt in Myddfai parish in 1645. He had inherited much of the estate of the physicians, the bulk of which he bequeathed to his nephew, Morgan Owen (*ob.* 1667). Among other descendants of the Lady of Llyn y Fan Fach, were Lewis and Jones of Cwmbrân, Bowen of Cwmydw, in Myddfai parish; Jones of Dolgarreg and Penrhock in the same parish; and Jones of Penrhock, later represented by Bishop of Llandilo. A similar legend concerns

the ancestry of Rowlands of Plas Nant, Bettws Garmon, Carnarvonshire, which states that a lady called Penelope arose from Cwellyn Lake, and became the wife of a *bonheddig*. After bearing him children she also disappeared in the traditional manner. From her descended a local family called Pelling, and the Rowlands of Plas Nant. Several descendants of this strange union still reside in North Wales.

To these families with fairy ancestors I award the blue riband of Welsh genealogy. But the days of such fantastic marriages are over, and it may be of some comfort to Welsh country gentlemen to learn that they need entertain no fears that one day they might have demons as sons-in-law or temperamental fairies as daughters-in-law, with perchance a troop of goblin grandchildren.

Monumental inscriptions continued to show the attachment of the people to long family trees. An example of this was noted in the following century by Bingley in Llanrhaidr church. He wrote: "I was wandering carelessly about this building when I cast my eyes on a tombstone containing the following inscription, which affords a memorable instance of the pride of ancestry which is inherent in the Welsh character: 'Heare lyeth the body of / John ap Robert of Porth ap / David ap Griffith ap David / Vaughan ap Blethyn ap / Griffith ap Meredith ap / Iorwerth ap Llewelyn / ap Ieroth ap Heilin ap / Cowryd ap Cadvan ap / Alawgwa ap Cadell / the / King of Powis / who departed this life the / XX day of March in the / year of our Lord God / 1643, and of / his age xcv'." The industry of Hugh Thomas has preserved some notable examples in his native Breconshire (Harl. MS. 6821). For instance, the tombstone to the memory of Edward Games, who died in 1617, read: "Heare lieth the Body of Edward Games ab Edward ab Edward ab John ab Morgan ab Ieuan ab Morgan ab Sr Daudi Gam knight and Gwenlhean his wife Daughter to Jenk[in] ab Ieuan ab David ab Ieuan ab Lleyson Paternally Descended to Jestin a Prince of Glamorgan. . . ." The late Mr. Francis Green has placed on record the attachment of the Pembrokeshire Wogans (descended from Gwgan ap Bleddyn) to their genealogy, and several other examples could be cited for this century.

We will now briefly review the genealogical practitioners of the seventeenth century. The interest in genealogy and historical studies that had characterized the Golden Age continued to be shown. Much of the work was "copyist" in nature, and there is evidence that a certain amount of fraudulent pedigree-making marked the work of some of the writers. However, in England and France there arose a few men of outstanding mental powers and scholarship, who may be said to have been the first to place genealogical study on a sound historical basis. In France, Duchesne had printed some early chronicles, and in 1624 he published his *Histoire genealogique de la maison de Montmorency*, a work which showed the results to



be achieved by treating genealogy as a piece of historical research. Later in the century the French genealogist La Roque published his *Histoire de la maison d'Harcourt*, which was also written along sound principles. However, the greatest genealogist and antiquary in this age was Sir William Dugdale (1605–86), Garter King of Arms. His *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1665, 1661, 1673) was his greatest work, and its publication made him the recognized authority on English monastic foundations. He also published several other works, all of which are valuable mines of information. His main significance lies in the fact that he worked from primary evidence and established the importance of historical genealogy. Other notable antiquaries who worked from similar premises were John Selden (1584–1654) and the Norfolk squire Sir Henry Spelman (1562–1641). But Dugdale was king of them all. To what extent he influenced Welsh antiquaries is not clear, but during the century we find a number of Welshmen who based their work on principles similar to those practised by Dugdale. They were few in number, and although their works are not comparable with those of Dugdale, they nevertheless represent efforts made along the right lines. There is no doubt that the works of Dugdale had influenced Edward Llyud (1660–1709), and despite the defects in his *Archaeologia Britannica*, this work remains as a notable contribution to research along scientific principles. Nor must we overlook the influence on Welsh genealogical thought, of the much-maligned College of Arms. That some of its officers were credulous and even venal must be admitted, and in the many visitation books of the period some pedigrees were recorded by officers who obviously lacked critical ability. Yet the officers of the College of Arms of this century cannot be dismissed as charlatans. A study of their records in the College shows that many were scholars who were guided by sound historical principles. It must not be forgotten that among them had sat the great Dugdale.

The Welsh genealogical practitioners of this century may be divided into three groups: (i) the bards, (ii) the squire-genealogists, and (iii) official genealogists.

#### (i) *The Bards.*

The bards of this century were a sorry lot. With the passing of the great Hiraethog, Sion Tudur, Simwnt Fychan, and Rhys Cain, the spirit departed from the Welsh Parnassus. Bardism as a profession ceased to exist, and the hangdog rhymesters who struggled to imitate the bygone giants achieved but little.<sup>1</sup> With a few exceptions the squires had no time for them, while the poets themselves were recruited from a different class in society from those of the Golden Age. Furthermore, there appears to have been little or no control or graduation. John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy had noticed the change. After saying that the old bards were men of

<sup>1</sup> The works of some of the better ones are contained in *Cefn Coch MSS.*, ed. J. Fisher, 1899.

good family, he has now noticed "meane menn of byrth havinge good qualities were admitted to studdy the doctrine of the Bards & to proceed in their profession to there graduacione, but under the title and vocatione of prydyddion . . . at this time Prydyddion are of no estimacione for divers reasones. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Many of these rhyme-sters came from the ranks of the degraded *bonheddig*, and a study of the Golden Grove pedigrees for the period 1650-1710 reveals the names of quite a number of men described as *y bardd*, *y prydydd*, *y cantwr*, *ye poet*, etc., but their compositions have not survived. Although these *prydyddion* continued to range the shires their itineraries were but a shadow of the old *cwrs clera*. Robin Clydro wrote an "Owdl am daith y Bardd i glera ar y Gwiliac fel i doeth i Fachymbyd o'r diwedd," and during the course of this itinerary a most unfortunate experience befell poor Clydro as he was leaving the *plás* of a magistrate.<sup>2</sup>

A poem written about 1648 shows that the deterioration was progressive. It is headed: "A Complaint about the Bards who sing for money, and who have failed to compose elegies to Sir T. Morgan and Sir Roger Williams."<sup>3</sup> These straws in the wind indicate one reason why the poetry of the age is of an inferior quality.

Among the most prominent of the bards were Thomas Prys, Sir David Trevor, Robert Wynne, and Hugh Robert Llên. Some of the old Welsh families continued to patronize them, and houses like Penybenglog in Pembrokeshire always welcomed them, while Nannau in the north still harboured its own family bard. He was John Davies, commonly called John David Laes,<sup>4</sup> and was busily transcribing manuscripts at Nannau in 1690. Those who wrote *cywyddau moliant* and *marwnadau* retained the old practice of enumerating ancestors and arms, and good examples are found in the works of Dafydd Nan Conwy (c. 1640). A few poems contained warnings to the squires that their pedigrees and arms, like the paths of glory, lead but to the grave. Two englynion were written by Robert Wynne to Mr. John Maesmor of Maesmor "i roi ar ei fedd," and one of them reads as follows:—

Er uchel nod mawr ache—er mawrdda  
Er myrddiwn o bynne  
Er gwaelled llymed fy lle  
Ir un rhyw daith y doi dithe.

A few gentlemen are also found among the poets, the best-known being Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn and Rowland Vaughan of Caergai. The bards were fast losing their patrons—the landowning *bonheddig*

<sup>1</sup> Llanstephan MS. 144.

<sup>2</sup> See T. H. Parry-Williams, *Canu Rhydd Cynnar*, 1932, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Llanstephan MS. 122, fo. 486. "Achwyniad ar y Beirdd am ganv er arian a gadel Sr T Morgan a Sr Roger Wms heb farwnadav."

<sup>4</sup> See Mostyn MSS. 130 and 165.

—whose anglicization caused them to neglect the traditional learning of their fathers.

(ii) *The Squire-Genealogists.*

The genealogy of this century became the pursuit of the landed gentry. Many of the country gentlemen had a taste for antiquities and made pedigree-collecting a personal hobby in the same way as some people to-day collect stamps or regimental badges. Every Welsh gentleman was well grounded in his own ancestry, and he was taught the family tree as part of his education. Indeed, he could hardly escape from it, for physical reminders surrounded him throughout his life. We know that the Welsh country houses of this century were rich in heraldic decoration. The family arms, often shields of many quarterings, appeared over the fireplace of the dining-room, the sheriffs' banners hung in the hall, and over the porch appeared the "marriage-stones" of ancestors. The portraits of scowling forebears were decorated with neatly emblazoned shields, and the family silver displayed engraved arms. The windows of the hall and the library threw beautiful colours from the red lions and the golden boars that decorated the leaded panes. When the family visited the church, the lights in the chancel, the mural tablets, and the monumental slabs, all bore testimony to the arms and lineage of the worshippers. Before the child had ceased to suck its thumb it was familiar with the attractive seals that dangled from the parental fob, and it had admired the attractive painting on the door of the family coach long before it was aware of its significance. Heraldry and genealogy formed part of polite education, and as the Welsh had long held such matters in veneration it is not surprising to find that the gentry were well-grounded in them. The step between one's own genealogy and that of one's neighbours is usually a very short one.

Manuscripts show that the Welsh country gentlemen knew a good deal about their own family history. At the beginning of the century the turbulent Sir John Wynn had found time, in between his squabbles with the Bishop and his neighbours, to write a detailed and interesting history of his family. The great North Wales family of Salusbury was prepared to meet any attack on its gentility. About 1638 Alderman Foulke Salusbury of Chester brought an action in the Earl Marshall's court against one Samuel Martyn of Chester, for "scandalous words spoken against the nation in generall & the Salisburies in generall, & him the sayd Fouke Salisbury in particular." Plaintiff thereupon produced a "certyficat of his descent," to be as he said, a record for ever for his family, and furthermore "requested vs his kinsman, being descended of the same blood & family, vnder our hands for to certyfie the truth therof." The pedigree was signed by no less than thirty-seven of his relations, and was traced to Adam Salusbury



of Lleweny (c. 1250), and no further.<sup>1</sup> Several other members of the Salusbury family were eminent students of genealogy such as William and Owen of Rug and John of Erbistock.<sup>2</sup> Others who made a study of genealogy were Edward Puleston of Trefalun; Henry Morgan of Glynaeron; William Hughes the friend and collaborator of John Davies of Rhiwlas; John Griffith of Cae Cyriog who died in 1698;<sup>3</sup> Thomas ab Ieuan *alias* Thomas Evan of Tre'r Bryn in Glamorgan;<sup>4</sup> Peter Davies of Eglwyseg; Robert Davies (1684–1728) of Llannerch, Denbighshire, and Gwysanney, Flintshire; Richard Williams of Llywel, Breconshire, attorney-at-law, a natural son of an old family, a great genealogist, and also “a most notorious Adulterer and Subtil Lawyer”;<sup>5</sup> Peter Ellis of Wrexham, a learned lawyer and competent genealogist;<sup>6</sup> Evan Lloyd *alias* Evan Lloyd Jeffrey of Dyffryn Erethlyn, and later of Pale in Merioneth, who in 1638 made a pedigree of the Lloyds of Pengwern near St. Asaph, in which he was described as “Professor of ye British heraldry & servant to the Right Ho<sup>ble</sup> Phillip Herbert Earl of Penbrook and Mountgomery &c”; and Thomas Wilkins (1626–99), a Glamorganshire parson of ancient stock, a notable genealogist, a collector of old manuscripts and the owner of a fine library.

Several examples are found of Welsh squires making out vast pedigrees showing their relationship to eminent people and presenting such pedigrees to them. A good example of this is preserved in B. M. Add. MS. 14409, fo. 249, drawn up by John Lloyd of Vairdre, Cardiganshire, in 1629, who held lands of his kinsman Sir Richard Newport of High Ercall, Shropshire. It is a very detailed and carefully prepared document and includes much information about the cadet branches. It is headed: “These pettigrees John Lloyd of vairdreff in the countie of Cardigan, gen’, gathered out of ould auntient recordes: and sendes them to his Lord (from whome he houldes lands in soccage) Sr Richard Newport (as a testimony to his

<sup>1</sup> The surname Salusbury, Salesbury, or Salisbury is derived from a place name in England. Honest Foulke Salusbury and his 37 kinsmen knew that their earliest ancestor was Adam of Lleweny. However, a very romantic origin was in the making. As early as 1633 a pedigree was produced tracing Sir Thomas Salusbury from “Abraham Salesbury Duke and Prince of Bavaria who lieth honorably intombed in the Cathedral church at Satzborough, a citty in Bavaria; Abraham had a son called Adam who came with the conquerour to England and bought [*sic*] a house in Lancashire called to this day Salesbury Court” (Llanstephan MS. 187).

<sup>2</sup> See Harl. MS. 1972, fos. 53–5; Dwnn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. xii.

<sup>3</sup> See Dwnn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. xxx; Llanstephan MS. 159; N.L.W. MS. 7008D, Llyfr Achau Sion Griffith Cae Cyriog: “llyfr hanesion Achau ac Arfau amryw wyr boneddigion ac uchelwyr o Gymru; wedi ei gasglu, a’i ysgrifennau gan Sion Gruffydd, mis Mai, Ano dni 1697.”

<sup>4</sup> Peniarth MS. 447; N.L.W. MS. 652A; he wrote B.M. Add MS. 14878 in 1692.

<sup>5</sup> Golden Grove MS. He was also called Dick Howell William.

<sup>6</sup> He wrote B.M. Add. MSS. 28033–4; see Harl. MS. 7568, fo. 244; and *Notes and Queries*, 16th February, 1901.

service) wherein may be descried the title Sr Rich: Newport hath to the manor of Gwynyonydh yskerdin & other landes in Wales & the pettigrees of some of his kinsmen there, descended [sic] from the same house." The pedigree is traced from Llewelin ab Owen Lord of Iscerdin and Trefgarn Owen in Pembrokeshire, and shows that Sir Richard and his tenant were ninth cousins. Whether this vast pedigree resulted in John Lloyd stretching his legs under the mahogany at High Ercall or to a lowering of his renders we are unable to relate. John Lloyd was descended from the royal blood of Tewdwr Mawr, and was the eldest son of Ievan Lloyd by Elen daughter of David Lewes of Gernos. He took a deep interest in pedigrees, and into his possession came one of the Henllys manuscripts, now well-known to Welsh readers as the Vairdre Book, and which contains several annotations in John Lloyd's autograph. Apart from compiling pedigrees he was a collector of manuscripts, and a note, dated 1685, by David Edwardes, says of him: "... east collector e MSS Hujus libri de Britannorum genealogica." By his wife, Jane Herbert of Hafod, he had eleven children. One of his sons, the Revd. Jenkin Lloyd was sometime chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. His youngest child Cecil married, as her second husband, William Lewes of Llwynderw, Carmarthenshire.

There were four squire-genealogists who stood heads and shoulders above their contemporaries. These men of pre-eminence, whose works had a lasting influence on Welsh learning, were John Jones and Robert Vaughan in North Wales, and George William Griffith and William Lewes in South Wales.

Although not quite in the same class as the others, John Jones is nevertheless an important figure. He was a Flintshire landowner, who was sometimes unfortunate in worldly affairs, with the result that part of his time was spent within the confines of the Fleet. He had a very distinctive handwriting, and it would appear that he was a careful transcriber. He wrote Llanstephan MS. 144, which contains the Three Antiquities of Britain and other items, and also N.L.W. MS. 6681B which is a collection of *cywyddau*. He wrote several other manuscripts now preserved in the National Library of Wales, including Peniarth MS. 111, which contained some material copied from manuscripts written by George Owen of Henllys and the Revd. George Owen Harry. But his main claim to remembrance is his transcription of two manuscripts alleged to have been compiled before 1250 which are unfortunately lost. The transcript is preserved in the Cardiff Public Library (MS. No. 25) and is known as "Hanesyn Hên." It was transcribed by John Jones, while in the Fleet prison in 1640, from manuscripts loaned to him by that estimable squire Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt. I have already referred to the significance of this manuscript, and John Jones deserves to be commemorated for this particular transcript, if for no other reason.

Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (*ob.* 1667) was one of the most outstanding men of the century, and was responsible for amassing the most important manuscript collection in the whole of Wales. This collection, now known as the Peniarth MSS., is in the National Library. An authoritative essay on Robert Vaughan and his collection, written by Mr. Gildas Tibbott, M.A.,<sup>1</sup> indicates his position in Welsh scholarship. Descended from an ancient *bonheddig* stock, Vaughan devoted his life to the study of Welsh antiquities. He was mainly a collector and transcriber of manuscripts, and was always ready to assist others engaged in antiquarian pursuits. His creative work is not impressive, and in his *British Antiquities Revived* (1662), which, according to Mr. Tibbott, is his "only claim to fame" as an original author, he has shown that it is possible to write a book on an important subject without contributing anything profound or original to it. The unpublished Peniarth MS. 287, a volume of 1,402 folios in his hand, is a tribute to his genealogical zeal and industry, and is of especial importance since he has listed very carefully the sources of his information.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript is important as a genealogical record, but despite the writer's appeal to original sources it shows more evidence of careful transcription than of critical judgement. Nevertheless, Robert Vaughan's position in Welsh literary history is assured, and the highest tribute that can be paid to him is to say that no work on any Welsh subject prior to 1670 can be considered complete without some reference to the manuscripts that he had so lovingly amassed and carefully transcribed. That, and the fact that his manuscripts form one of the foundation collections of our National Library, is the finest memorial to the fame of this grand *bonheddig* of seventeenth century Merioneth. A biography, and a critical analysis of Vaughan's work, would be a welcome addition to Welsh bibliography.

I now turn to George William Griffith, who lived at Penybenglog, a house on a slope above one of the most romantic glens in north Pembrokeshire. In a previous essay,<sup>3</sup> I deduced that he had been born "in the region of 1580-85," and I have since discovered a note in his own handwriting giving the date of his birth as 21st April, 1584. He married on 22nd November, 1605, to Maud, daughter of James Bowen of Llwyngwair, and their post-nuptial settlement is dated 1607. She died on the Feast of the Pentecost in 1647. Their seven surviving children were born between July, 1609, and September, 1620. Griffith died between 20th April, 1654, and

<sup>1</sup> *Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, Part I, pp. iii-xi. Mr. Tibbott would earn the thanks of his countrymen were he to expand this admirable essay into a book. Apart from his essay, no authoritative work exists on Vaughan. An extremely important genealogical work, Harl. MS. 2299, contains a list of over 70 authorities, and several references are made to Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt's MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Printed at length in Dr. Evans' *Report* sub Peniarth MS. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.*, 1938.



29th August, 1655, and his age would then have been 71 or thereabouts.

George William Griffith was about 30 years of age when his friend and neighbour George Owen of Henllys breathed his last. Since the format of his pedigrees bears a close resemblance to those of George Owen, it is not unreasonable to believe that he had been influenced in no small degree by the works of that remarkable man. Like George Owen he employed the "race-horse" pedigree form, the anecdotal family history, and the distinctive *Wyth Rhan Rhieni*. His handwriting often bears a close resemblance to that of George Owen, and were it not for the fact that many of them are dated after 1614, it would be almost impossible to establish their true authorship. As Owen gave great prominence to his own pedigree, so George William Griffith paid close attention to the house of Penybenglog. He was not content to trace merely his agnatic descent but hunted his ancestors by the distaff with unremitting perseverance. He had the happy habit of giving the addresses of people whose names occurred in the pedigrees, and this has often enabled readers to establish the approximate times that several families came to live in certain houses. The naming of habitations was not, unfortunately, a custom of Welsh genealogists, and, as far as I have been able to gather, Griffith was the first one to do so on any appreciable scale. A superb penman, Griffith was able to use five entirely different styles of handwriting, and each one has the merit of being extremely neat and legible. Of him one of the bards wrote :—

Y gwr a sgrifenna gerdd  
Myrddin, Taliesin dlyswerdd,  
A llaw yr angel a welwn  
Val preintio lle i'r hapio hwn.

He was very anxious to find out all his living relations, distant and near, and in order to achieve this he selected a certain remote ancestor in his family tree, and then traced all descents from him, both male and female lines. He also kept the different tribal groups distinct from one another as George Owen had done before him and as William Lewes of Llwynderw was to do with such conspicuous success later in the century. His main interests were in North Pembrokeshire pedigrees, but he was also conversant with extra-Dimetian pedigrees and pedigree collections. One of the pedigrees of his own family in a College of Arms manuscript (Protheroe XII, fo. 35) is an interesting example of his methods. This is the descent from Rhydderch ap Howell of Penybenglog. The names of the descendants, both in the main and cadet lines, are enclosed within neatly-drawn shields. Alongside, in little squares, are abstracts of deeds supporting each descent from 1325 to 1630, and at the bottom of this pedigree, where the people are "now living," he has placed a row of shields all bearing the name of the families and their seats. In this instance there are eleven : Penybenglog (Griffith), Blaithbwlh (Reynold), Brodeigh (Jones), Ludlow (Jones), Trelhyfant

(Picton), Berlhan (Owen), Glandyad (Bowen), Comgloyne (Lloyd), Haverfordwest (Davids), New Moate (Scourfield), and Henlhys (Owen). The form *lh* for *ll* (not affected by George Owen) was much used by G. W. Griffith, and especially by William Lewes, who also used *dh* for *dd*. In some pedigrees he also used circles as well as shields to enclose the personal names and other data. His *Wyth Rhan Rieni* pedigrees are more detailed and elaborate than those of George Owen, and he attempted to extend many of them beyond the eight ancestors. His notebooks are mostly quarto, whereas George Owen favoured the foolscap size. His notepaper was thinner and more perishable than that used by Owen, who appears to have gone in for better material. Griffith had a sound knowledge of Welsh and Latin, and also of armory and sigillography. As might be expected from a good penman he was an able artist as his decorative flourishes, rubrics, and capital letters show. The few arms that he drew are neat and far superior to the efforts of the squire of Henllys in the same direction.

The significance of George William Griffith in the genealogical hierarchy is that he was not merely a copyist and a transcriber, but that he originated pedigrees himself. He compiled pedigrees from deeds and records, gave supporting references for the descents, and he may be regarded as one of the pioneers of scientific methods of research. He was also thoroughly immersed in the Welsh tradition and welcomed the bards to his home, where they came in force, and a considerable number of the poems they declaimed in the hall of Penybenglog have fortunately survived. Among them were Robert Dyfi, Richard Gruffith *alias* Clerke Eynon, Siams Emlyn, Dafydd Emlyn, Dafydd Llwyd Mathe, Harry Howel, Siams David William, Y Prydydd Coch, Morgan Gwyn, old Robin Clydro, and others. Bards from North Wales also ventured to this celebrated district, and some time before 1613 Rhisiart Phylip, Gruffydd Hafren, and Siams Dwinn, came together to the home of Thomas Lloyd at Kilkiffeth, where they entertained that squire with *cyfarwydd* and *cynghanedd*. Sion Mawddwy considered Kilkiffeth to be his preserve and was very wroth at this intrusion (Llanstephan MS. 38).

This district has a literary tradition, and the neighbouring landowners such as Warren of Trewern, Lloyd of Cwmgloyne, Bowen of Llwyngwair, and Owen of Henllys, gave a hearty welcome to bards even though many of them were often of the "talcen slip" variety. It was this romantic country that inspired the immortal Pantycelyn, while riding on his pony towards Llwyngwair, to write the well-known hymn,

Dros y bryniau tywyll niwlog  
O fy enaid, gwél y tir.

Mr. Saunders Lewis has recently shown (*Wales*, December, 1947) how the literary tradition of this district remained unbroken until

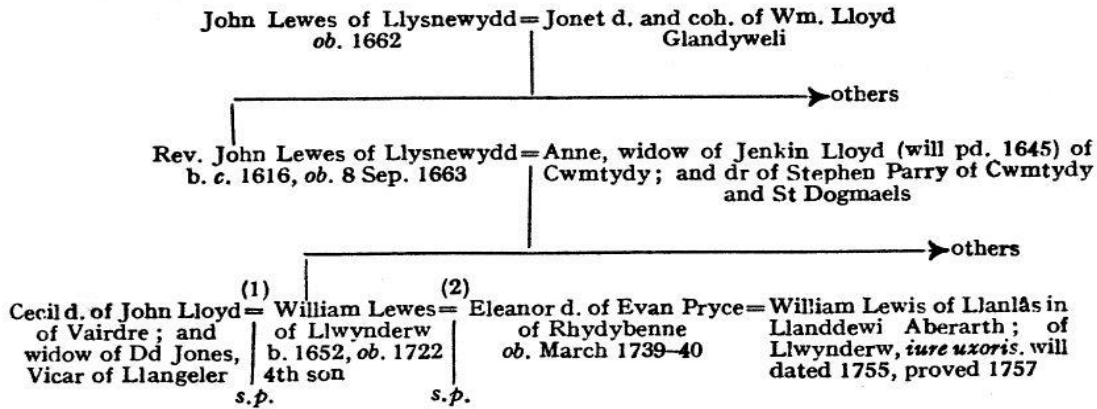
the end of the eighteenth century. The brooding genius of the Precelly has presided over the birth of many a fine poet, including the immediate ancestors of Dafydd ap Gwilym, like Gwynfardd Dyfed, Cyhylyn Fardd, and Gwrwared gerdd gynnil, and it is to be devoutly hoped that the grey slopes and sequestered vales of this historic district will never reverberate to the thunder of modern artillery.

William Griffith (b. 29th August, 1610) inherited the Penybenglog estate and also his father's genealogical tendencies. In 1676 he petitioned the Court of Great Sessions, and, describing himself as "an aged man and sole antiquary" in the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, he prayed to be discharged from appearing at any leet or other courts. His prayer was granted on 26th May, 1676. As he was then 66 years 9 months, the term "aged" may perhaps have included infirmity, which led to his death in the year following. Little is known of his activities, and few examples of his work have survived. An undated letter, c. 1670, from Jenkin Lloyd of Llangoedmore to his cousin Rees Lloyd of Trefach, reveals that the writer was engaged in a law-suit, and he states: "I heare that Mr Griffiths of Penybenglog is the best for drawing of ye Pedigree. I pray Speake with him," and adds details for a *calumptus* pedigree to be drawn up by Griffith. Fortunately, I was able to establish William Griffith's handwriting beyond all doubt. This evidence is contained in the will of his uncle, George Bowen of Llwyngwair (dated 4th July, 1659, proved 16th July, 1660, P.C.C. 100, Nabbs), in which testator bequeathed "To my nephew William Griffith of Penybenglog, gent., for making and writing this my will, £3." From the will it is clear that William had modelled his handwriting on his father's, and many traces of it may be found in the additions to George William Griffith's and other manuscripts that came later to Llwynderw. It is a small crabbed hand, very similar to his father's, but more upright and rather thicker. He was known to David Edwardes, and assisted him in his work. In 1674, Edwardes drew the arms of the Bowens of Llwyngwair, and this "Mr Edwards delivered to William Griffiths of Penybenglog to be transmitted to Capten Griffith Bowen of Pontcynon then living in London, anno 1674" (N.L.W. MS. 12045E). It is possible that he may have been trained to the law, but this is merely my own opinion, and I have no proof of it. William Griffith died, without issue, before 13th September, 1677, when administration of his goods was granted to his widow (Frances Bowen of Upton, whom he had married on 6th December, 1649), who survived him by some thirty years.

We now turn to the ancient house of Llwynderw in Llangeler parish, Carmarthenshire, and make the acquaintance of William Lewes, who in my humble opinion is the greatest genealogist of this century—and perhaps of any other. Certain confusion has been



made in connection with William Lewes, and when considering the matter it is of importance to remember the correct spelling of his surname. The following section of the pedigree of the family of Lewes will assist us in this discussion :—



William Lewes died between 7th December and 21st December, 1722, the former being the date of his will, the latter that of his inventory. He had no issue by either of his wives, but he was the father of an illegitimate child, Elinor, who married a monster called John Griffith, the son of a greater monster, and the grandson of an almighty monster. Of him, Lewes sadly said: "Sion mab i dad ac wyr i dadcû," and adds a note in Latin which leaves no doubt about the unpleasant family into which poor Elinor had married. His widow married again to William Lewis of Llanlâs who came to live at Llwynderw, with the result that the lives of both husbands have been confused.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that William Lewes was the son of a squire-parson, that his mother belonged to a family which had associations with north Pembrokeshire, and that both his wives were members of families known to have been genealogically inclined.

Biographical details of William Lewes are scanty, but a few important facts emerge from his letters to Hugh Thomas, the deputy herald. In these letters we are introduced to his genealogical philosophy and methods. These letters are of paramount importance to students of Welsh pedigrees and they also contain interesting sidelights on social life in bygone Carmarthenshire. His handwriting is small and cramped and is quite unlike any other that I have known. It is most distinctive and fortunately easily understood. The ink he used is of a rich rusty colour, and he used foolscap-sized sheets for his pedigrees and also for several of his letters. In one of the many pedigrees he compiled of his own family he described himself as "Wm Lewes Archaephilos."

<sup>1</sup> See D. E. Jones, *Hanes Plwyfi Penboyr a Llangeler*, 1899, p. 303. Apart from this unfortunate confusion, this is an extremely useful work and a pattern of a good local history. The same error is found in Blackwell's manuscript biographies in N.L.W. and in Mr. Owen's essay in *Arch. Camb.*, 1903.

He had started his correspondence with Hugh Thomas before 1705, and on 3rd May of that year he sent him a letter with the pedigree and arms of a Carmarthenshire family.<sup>1</sup> On 8th August, 1709, he wrote to Hugh Thomas as follows:<sup>2</sup> "... I am much concerned for ye losse of my true freind & Relation Mr Edw<sup>d</sup> Lhuyd of the museum. it is an universall losse to the learned parte of the world. An particularly to us the poore remains of the Ancient Bryttains, whose Antiquity he has vindicated against those whose ignorance as well as malice have aspers'd & Calumniated. I hope his writeings & observations will come to some honest hands to oblige the world publishing them. I do not expect that any Addition should be put to ym, presumeing none had the advantages & indefatigable industry as he had & very few (if any) the capacity & spirit to undertake such a performance."<sup>3</sup> He proceeded to refer to a book of pedigrees compiled by David Edwardes of Rhydygors, from which a section of some 100 pages dealing with the descendants of Brychan was missing. However the writer had been able to supply the deficiency from Edwardes' rough notes from manuscripts written by Richard Williams and Morgan Rhys William. He added: "Be pleased to send the following bookes by the carrier & direct ym for me as you direct yr letters to be left at Mr John Lewes's house at Carmarthen, mercer—The Xtian gazette or news respecting the invisible world, sold by John Mathew near Stationers hall pr. 1.s. A necessary family booke both for citty & Countrey in 2 partes for killing all sort of vermin &c by R: W: gent. pr. 6d." His method of payment for the books is a sidelight on the activities of the old Welsh drovers. He continued: "After[wards] you shall be payd for ye bookes by some of our drovers who will be about London by the middle of next moneth."

On the 19th of the January following he again wrote to Hugh Thomas, who was then staying at "Mrs Tempests house in Courson Street between Druery Lane and Wildstreet next door to the Goulden ball, London." This letter is of particular importance, since it has a direct bearing on the well-known Golden Grove MS. now in the Public Record Office. He wrote as follows: "I am weary long since of these unprofitable studies, w<sup>ch</sup> the bad disposition of the times & the prodigious ignorance of most of the gentry in these partes have so much decry'd & undevalu'd that it were almost madnesse in any man to concern himself in such an affair. I had it in my thoughts heretofore to transcribe all ye genealogies that I have dispers'd confesedly in severall bookes into one or two volumes in another method then Mr Edwards or those before him have done, that is to put all ye descendants of a Patriarch in the

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fos. 276-7.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 492; see also R. T. Gunther, *Life and Letters of Edward Lhuyd*, 1946, Appendix B.

same booke, viz. for instance. The descendants of Kradoc vreich-vras as Bledhin ap maynarch, Drympenog, Woogans, Griff: gwyr &c in one continu'd series & the title in euery page thereof to be inscrib'd Kradoc vreichvrâs but Res Augusta domi obstructed that design, the I have made a considerable progress in it, being not enabl'd to keep an Amanuensis or to travell to forraign counties for further knowledge therein."<sup>1</sup>

Now, this extract requires careful consideration. Firstly, these particular pedigree books written by Lewes have survived. A comparison shows quite clearly that the Golden Grove MS. is a transcript of them. There is no doubt whatsoever about that. The only difference is that the transcriber has brought a number of pedigrees down from 1722, when Lewes died, to about 1765 when the transcript was made. However, I know, despite what William Lewes said in his letter, that this method of laying out the pedigrees had been essayed before. It certainly had been done, but not perhaps on the ambitious scale that Lewes planned. George Owen and George William Griffith had produced such pedigrees nearly a century before, but they had done so in "race-horse" pedigree form and not in the tabular form that Lewes used. Again, there is evidence from William Lewes' own letter, dated 8th August, 1709 and quoted above, that David Edwardes had done the same for Brychan's descendants, which covered at least 100 folios of one of his books, and we also know that Edwardes always employed the tabular method. We also know that William Lewes actually knew this, for the pedigree manuscripts of George Owen, George William Griffith, and David Edwardes, which form part of the Protheroe collection in the College of Arms, contain notes and additions in the unmistakable handwriting of William Lewes himself, and furthermore that a large number of Lewes' pedigrees arranged under patriarchs were direct copies of pedigrees of the said Owen, Griffith, and Edwardes. Thus the idea did not, and could not, have *originated* with Lewes despite the confident assertion in his letter. What he could claim, with a perfectly clear conscience, was that he greatly improved upon the works of those earlier genealogists and embarked upon a far more ambitious programme. In point of fact the origin of a number of his pedigrees may be traced back to Dwnn's now familiar visitations. In Egerton MS. 2586 a large number of North Wales and other pedigrees were written in the hand of George Owen, who states categorically that he copied them from Dwnn's visitation books. A comparison of the early parts of pedigrees in the manuscripts of Lewes, Edwardes, Owen, Griffith, and Dwnn. has shown them to be identical even to the errors contained in them. The fact that William Lewes was careful to indicate his sources of information in his *magnum opus*, shows that he had relied to a great degree on those three genealogists. Lewes copied the earlier parts as they stood and then brought them down to about 1720, while

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 307.



the transcriber of the Golden Grove MS. then brought several down to the time of the transcription, about 1765. Lewes' work is greatly superior to that of his forerunners since, with an industry almost unbelievable, he had spared no pains to find out *all descendants* even to the most junior and obscure branches of the families. Therein lies the value of Lewes' work. He was also far more meticulous about noting illegitimacy when he saw it, but believing that blood was thicker than marriage ale, he has included all the descendants of these merrybegots as well. Thus the Golden Grove MS., allowing for errors of transcription, is a most important compilation, and its publication, properly edited and collated with the originals, would form, far and away, the most comprehensive genealogical volume in the whole corpus of British genealogy. The Earls Cawdor, with that public spirit so long associated with their historic name, have conferred an inestimable boon upon the people of these islands by depositing this unique manuscript in the Public Record Office, where it may be freely consulted by genealogists.

We now return to William Lewes' letter of 19th January, 1709-10. Like the good armorist he was, he was quick to detect the charlatan, and his lash fell on a haphazard heraldic painter of Carmarthen. He wrote: "I would gladly know what Counties you are licens'd in & whether this County of Carmarthen be under yr inspection, if soe, there is one Charles Mathews of Carmarthen town has made a very Considerable Advantage by draweing escoucheons for funerall solemnities within these six years last past, he is a very ignorant genealogist & Armorist, not careing much what to draw, so yt if a gentleman hath a lion for his coat he values not the posture or colour, you would doe well to exert yr power & vificate this laudable science from ignorance & contempt with w<sup>ch</sup> it is like to be over run by such pretenders & colour-daubers." He thanks Thomas for sending him some literature,<sup>1</sup> invites him to call at Llwynderw, and expresses his contentment of his humble lot: "I should be very glad to see you at my poor habitation, where you should be heartily welcome to a treat of respect & kindnesse, & such entertainment as I could best afford you, being onely happy in the visits of my freinds to oblige me with, & in contentment under whatever circumstances of fortune I am layd. being below the envy of the great, & aboove the Contempt of the vulgar, wch shall allways be my wishes this side of eternity. & if the heavens vouchsafe to gratifie me in this, I shall be willing to pittie ye condition of the greatest monarch." It would appear from this letter that the morale of this descendant of Ednowain Bradwen had fallen rather low, and one wonders whether it was the result of reading "The Xtian gazette" which he had bought a few months previously, or because of failure to exterminate "all sort of vermin" in the Llwynderw district.

<sup>1</sup> "I return you my real thanks for the Drs sermon & the Chimæra. I have seen allso ye Answer of that Bl——d Dr Burgesse."

On 14th August, 1710, he wrote again to Hugh Thomas, who had now left Mrs. Tempest's house, and established himself at Mrs. Gregory's at the upper end of King Street, Bloomsbury, over against the Orange Tree.<sup>1</sup> Hugh must have been delighted to receive these missives, for this one, like the others, contained several pedigrees. Lewes had found, like others after him, that the number of generations to a century fluctuated,<sup>2</sup> and wrote: "... we know some persons may beget children at 50 or sixty years of age, & if it happen as it may sometimes that his son may doe the like, there will be one century of years past between 2 descents, whereas some other families may have 4 or five past in the same current of years." The problem (still unsolved) of the Gwaethfoeds troubled him, and he stated that Mr Ro: Vychan of Hengwrt had drawn up Lord Carbery's descent from Gwaethvoed vawr of Powys, and Sir Richard Pryse [Gogerddan] from Gwaethvoed in Cardigan, and that Vaughan contended that there were two Gwaethfoeds. "I w'd gladly know yr sentiments, & what yr MSS instruct you, whether there were more then one Gwaetvoeds. . . ."

A few months later Hugh Thomas had left Mrs. Gregorie and returned to Mrs. Tempest. Whether he had found the former's cooking was not up to scratch or that the waters of the Orange Tree were not comparable with those of Queen Anne's Tavern in Great Wildstreet which was opposite Mrs. Tempest's, or the Golden Ball which was next door, we do not know. Anyway he was back there by 7th February, 1710-11, when the squire of Llwynderw wrote to him again.<sup>3</sup> From this it will be seen that Lewes had entertained ideas about obtaining a deputyship in Wales under the College of Arms. His claim that no-one in Wales had as good a genealogical collection as he possessed was no idle boast. He wrote: "Mr David Lewis of Lhanboydy hath bin with me severall times wherein he intimated his inclination to ye study of Antiquities & that he would yn his in . . . for a deputation or patent. I encourag'd the Advances & lent him some bookes to qualifie him in some measure for ye undertakeing & told withall that he might bid for the Country of Radnor & Cardigan, the rest of S. Wales being already dispos'd of to yr self. I gave him likewise an account where Mr Edward Phillips might find you to ascertain the truth of what I intimated I Intended for the Countrey you have, my self, if you ar dispos'd to relinquish them otherwise I am not very Sollicitous for ym nor shall envy the successe of any body that shall Acquire ym being assur'd that no person in S wales hath any collection of genealogies comparable to what I have. tho I have ym not as full as I could wish & therefore whosoever will obtain them must

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 126.

<sup>2</sup> For genealogical computations the number is taken as three, but I have found as many as five generations to a hundred years in several Welsh pedigrees, and as few as two. I have an aunt, now living, whose grandfather was born in 1765.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 7001, fo. 455.

of necessity consult my bookes. When I see what you will doe to those who have invaded yr province & have injur'd yr office without giving you the least acknowledgement as far as I understand, then I should encourage myself to the obtaining those Country you seem to be willing to. however I shall in this affair submit to yr Advice & Conduct, & be pleased to communicate yr thoughts freely to / Yr affec: humble serv<sup>t</sup> / Wm Lewes."

This letter also shows his readiness to assist others with similar interests. As a postscript he gave a detailed description of a book of Breconshire pedigrees written by David Edwardes, and he leaves no room whatsoever for doubting that Edwardes' work was based on precisely similar lines as his own, which he had, curiously, claimed to have originated. Lewes also uses the term *Adventurers*, a word for *advenae*, much affected by Edwardes.

His letter, dated 31st December, 1711, to Hugh Thomas, who still lay at Mrs. Tempest's over against Queen Anne's Tavern in Great Wildstreet.<sup>1</sup> He apologizes for a long delay in answering Hugh and explains the reasons as follows: "Attack'd more furiously with a Complication of Distempers as ye Scurvy, Dropsy, Rheumatism & perhaps some others wch ye Doctors have not as yet found a name for." The result was that he was confined to his bed and chamber from the beginning of the year until August, 1711, and while his distemper was at its height his small family disarranged all his books and papers, and Thomas' letter was mislaid. He was still busy with his patriarchs, and his references to Pembrokeshire genealogies are interesting. Like a sound family historian he believed in examining the places mentioned in the pedigrees, and we learn that he had visited the ancient home of Cadifor Fawr, "... Blaen Kych w<sup>ch</sup> is a place within 3 mile of my habitation. I have bin there severall times & could find no ruins of house fit for the habitation of such a potent man as he was in his time, Kilsant where his descendants settl'd is a fair old peece of building in these days."<sup>2</sup> The letter contains a shrewd criticism of certain pedigrees, and he fails to agree with Dr. Powell, Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate, and Cradoc of Llancarfan, about the ancestry of Einion ap Collwyn. He proposed to send "my book" of Breconshire pedigrees to Thomas and adds: "I cannot omitt acquainting you that in my apprehension the ancient heralds & genealogists had had some Hallucinations in their transmitting of genealogies. . . ." He has "had lately a Welsh history in manuscript, w<sup>ch</sup> agrees in most things with powel & has somewhat more the' Powel had, If I shall have the perusal of it once more you may know further of this."

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fenton, *Historical Tour of Pem.*, 1811, second ed., pp. 156, 267-9.



On Easter Eve, 1712, William Lewes wrote to Hugh Thomas at Mrs. Tempest's, stating that he was sending him "my Monmouthshire booke" of pedigrees on loan.<sup>1</sup> On 1st October, 1714, Lewes refers to a dispute relating to an interesting manorial custom at Manorvorion which was his brother's property and asks Hugh to consult a patent dated 2nd August, 8 James I. He also refers to some manuscripts with Mr. Jones of Gilvach<sup>2</sup> and wrote: "I am extreemly concern'd I can't give you any tolerable acc<sup>t</sup> of the Ancestors of Rhydherch ap James. I am of opinion Mr Jones of Gilvach yr Hedhwch to be the most likely person to satisfie you & the worthy gentlmen you mention, herein, Mr Jones haveing severall MSS & liveing in the neighbourhood. I had long since design'd to make a tour to N: wales & Glamorganshire in order to improve my imperfect knowledge in the Antiquities of our nation, but some crosses & misfortunes hath hitherto prevented me, & always —res Augusta domi." After discussing Merfyn Vrych and Morda Vrych he said: "One must have a considerable stock of patience to reconcile the severall anachronisms in many of the old MSS." Some of the letters are sealed with an armorial seal showing the nowed snakes of Ednowain ap Bradwen, and an eagle displayed as crest.

Browne Willis received much help from William Lewes with his *Survey of St. Davids*, in connection with the heraldry in the cathedral church, and that author paid a very handsome compliment to his helper. He stated that Lewes had in his house at Llwynderw a manuscript written by George Owen entitled "Escutcheons in St. Davids Cathedral." I have been unable to locate this manuscript, but there can be little doubt that Owen had written such a manuscript since it is known that he collected heraldic memorials in Pembrokeshire churches.<sup>3</sup> The *bonheddig* of Llwynderw also assisted the Welsh writers of his day. The Revd. Theophilus Evans stated that it was at Llwynderw he saw the finest collection of manuscripts in Wales. His *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* was published in 1716, and William Lewes wrote an interesting preface to it: "Barn Mr. William Lewes, o Lwynderw o sir Gaerfyrddyn, yng nghylch y llyfr hwn. . . ."

According to Blackwell's manuscript biographies, "a large number of his books and his MSS. are in the British Museum," but I have failed to find there more than the eight holograph letters, the substance of which has been given above. Although William Lewes was in his prime in the period 1700–22, he was nevertheless a product of the seventeenth century. The few evidences we have of his private life show him to have been a kind, amiable, and helpful

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 473.

<sup>2</sup> Several of these are incorporated in the valuable Gilvach Collection now in the College of Arms.

<sup>3</sup> Since this essay has gone to press, this MS. as well as several other important ones in the hand of George Owen, have been found in the possession of a private gentleman in London.

man. The many manuscripts he left behind him show him to have been one of the greatest genealogists that Wales ever produced. Among these are also many notes on theology in his handwriting, and they show that he was a man of deep religious feelings.

(iii) *Official Genealogists.*

The Welshmen of his century who accepted appointments under the authority of the College of Arms were all members of ancient landowning families. Although few in number their work was of a high standard. As several references have been made already to several of them, I shall not review them in any detail here, with the exception of one, whose work had a profound effect upon the genealogy of Mid and South Wales.

In the early part of the century, John Cain, son of the more famous Rhys Cain, is said to have held an appointment as a deputy herald, although there is no direct evidence of this. However, it is quite certain that his work was accepted as authoritative by the heralds who made visitations. The main period of his labours included the period 1615–41. In addition to being an armorist and genealogist, he was also a fine poet. The best known of his works is *The Book of John Kain* (Peniarth MS. 269) written 1613 and 1641, which contains pedigrees of families arranged under the names of their habitations. His work is also found in Peniarth MS. in which his father Rhys entered the detailed record of his *cwrs clera*. From this manuscript we find that John Cain was also a farmer, and the entries for 1635–40 show that he went in for sheep-rearing on a considerable scale. The heraldic manuscript Peniarth MS. 149 containing emblazoned shields was also his work. A chart of the descents from Bleddyn ap Cynfyn in Peniarth MS. 470 is also his work. Some of his pedigrees were quoted in the London *Visitation* for 1633–4 and in the various Shropshire *Visitations*. References to his work also appear in several British Museum collections, such as Harl. MS. 6153, Hugh Thomas' manuscripts, etc.

Griffith Hughes was a deputy herald, and, like John Cain, most of his activities were confined to North Wales and the Borders.<sup>1</sup> For some of his works and references to him see Harl. MS. 1969, Harl. MS. 1971, Harl. MS. 1978, and N.L.W. MS. 1610F. A target pedigree finished on 29th July, 1639, by Griffith Hughes "deputy to the office of arms for North Wales" is preserved at Bodrhyddan. It should be noted that the majority of armorial families, both English and Welsh, had for long borne arms without possessing crests. There had been many applications and grants of crests made in the sixteenth century, and such grants are found in large numbers during the early part of this century, and the records of the heralds and their deputies contain many applications and grants relating to Wales. Although not, strictly speaking, Welshmen, we

<sup>1</sup> See *Notes and Queries* for 16th February, 1901.

may perhaps with propriety include the remarkable family of Holme of Chester in this review. The Holme family (there were four generations, each bearing the Christian name Randle) was prominent in the genealogical history of this century.<sup>1</sup> They were the compilers of voluminous manuscripts, and the third Randle Holme is mainly remembered for his published *Academy of Armory* (1688). These men, although possessing considerable ability, lacked tact and good address, and several letters of a peremptory nature addressed to them by Welsh and Border squires are to be found in British Museum manuscripts. In addition to annoying Welsh squires the Holmes' also roused strong emotions within the College of Arms itself with the result that Dugdale (as Norroy) instituted legal proceedings against one of the Randle Holmes to secure an injunction to curtail his activities. The *Academy of Armory* indicates his objection to certain Welsh heraldic practices, and in liber IV, caput 29, s.n. Morgan, he airs his views on the Welsh custom of depicting a boar's head erased, and his views about this got him into trouble with the Edwardes' of Cilhendre who were not slow in taking the stick to him; and in liber III, caput xiii, p. 458, he again paraded his views as being superior to those of Welsh heralds.

The importance of the Chaloners, a purely Welsh family despite their surname, has already been discussed by Mr. Hemp in his admirable essay in *Y Cymmrodor* (1929), where it is shown that they were able and ingenious genealogists whose field of activity lay in North and Mid Wales and the Borders.

George Owen was an illegitimate son of George Owen of Henllys, and it is probable that he completed his education in Grays Inn. In 1626 he was appointed Rouge Croix Pursuivant, and in 1634 he became York Herald, an appointment he held until 1658 when he became Norroy King of Arms. He assisted in the funeral of the Protector. After the Restoration he reverted to the appointment of York Herald. He resigned in 1663, and returned to his native Pembrokeshire where he died in 1665. His work proves him to have been a capable genealogist and herald, and a worthy son of the author of *A Description of Pembrokeshire*.

David Edwardes of Rhyd-y-gors, Carmarthenshire, was descended from a worshipful family. His grandfather, David Edwardes, was sometime town clerk of Carmarthen, and died about 1639 in which year his will was proved. His eldest son, David Edwardes (born between 1608 and 1613) married Elizabeth daughter of David Jones of Llwyn y Ffortun, and became Mayor of Carmarthen in 1661, and died about 1665. His widow was buried at St. Peter's, Carmarthen, on 26th January, 1684-5. From this marriage there were two surviving children, David Edwardes, and Lettice Edwardes, who married the Revd. David Phillips, rector of Manordivy. The last named David Edwardes was the deputy herald. He married

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of Chester Archaeological and Historical Society* for 1892.



Elizabeth, daughter of David Morgan of Coedllwyd in Clydey, Pembrokeshire, by whom he had no issue. He died in 1690, his will being proved on 31st November of that year.

Although David Edwardes was very knowledgeable in the genealogies of Welsh families, there is a certain uncertainty about his own descent, and there is direct evidence that David Edwardes himself was aware of this. Since this has led to a curious state of affairs in the family heraldry, it may be of some interest to point out the circumstances relating to the pedigree and arms.

The earliest known pedigree of the family is that which occurs in Dwinn, *Heraldic Visitations*, Vol. I, p. 200, where it is traced to Gronwy Goch of Llangathen and from him to Elystan Glodrydd, and where the paternal Edwardes arms are given as those of Elystan and Gronwy. This pedigree was signed as correct by David Edwardes, who handed Dwinn the sum of five shillings for recording these "facts." However, Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 215, has an entirely different tale to tell, and traced the ancestry of the deputy herald in 1671 back to the Lloyds of Kilkiffeth, Pembrokeshire, and from them to Gwynfardd Dyfed. This is also supported by Peniarth MS. 156 (see *West Wales Historical Records*, Vol. I, p. 70). However, in Harl. MS. 2291, fo. 14, we find that the Gwynfardd tree has been discarded in favour of Dwinn's pedigree of the descent from Elystan. William Lewes enters the following significant note: "This descent of Mr Edwards of Rhydygors is thus laid in his last collections. But in his former collections he followeth Vairdre Book and Kemeys Antiquary who bring it from Gwynfarth Divet." That is to say, the deputy herald at first accepted the descent from Gwynfardd, but afterwards changed his mind and reverted to Dwinn's pedigree. No doubt he had some sound reasons for his choice. The pedigree as accepted by the family to-day is that recorded by Dwinn, namely the descent from Elystan.

But what are the arms? Dwinn recorded the arms quite clearly as those of Elystan, and David Edwardes (grandfather of the deputy herald) was quite satisfied with that. However, the family has abandoned the arms of its ancestor Elystan, and has accepted the arms of the rejected patriarch Gwynfardd Dyfed. Furthermore, the crest contains a distinctive charge taken from the arms of Gwynfardd's daughter-in-law. According to established Welsh heraldic practice, the family should bear either the complete coat of their heraldic ancestor in the agnatic line, or a coat based on the agnatic ancestor's arms. If the family is, in fact, descended from Elystan, it should not bear Gwynfardd's coat however differenced. The family cannot have it both ways. It would be interesting to know the "authority" for this heraldic curio.

We have already referred to the character of Edwardes' work, its arrangement and verbiage. He was a friend of William Lewes who quotes from his pedigrees on several occasions. He made

several very fine emblazoned rolls for the West Wales gentry, and one made for Owen Brigstocke of Llandebie about 1687, was until recently preserved at Blaenpant, Cardiganshire. Like George Owen of Henllys and George William Griffith, he added anecdotes relating to the families and their coat of arms. One of his pedigrees was responsible for ennobling its possessors, and is found in the records of the Breton family of de Keranflec'h. The Lloyds of Llandilo Fawr were descendants of Urien Rheged, and a later descendant, Rowland Lloyd, a noted Roman Catholic (born c. 1584), emigrated to France in 1610, where he married Charlotte de Kerouan of Plougonver in the diocese of Treguier. The name assumed the form Floyd in the time of Rowland's son Julian, who "in 1672 travelled into England and brought back the Genealogy from which the portions of the above [pedigree], written in Latin, have been textually extracted. This Genealogy was written, blazoned and illuminated by DAVID EDWARDES, herald at arms of the Principality of Wales, and certified, signed, and furnished with the seals of several Welsh noblemen and gentlemen. By aid of this document he was declared NOBLE in FRANCE, by decree of the Council of State, 13th September 1672."<sup>1</sup>

David Edwardes was appointed on 1st August, 1684, by Sir Henry St. George, Clarenceux, to be his deputy herald over the six counties of Cardigan, Brecon, Radnor, Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Glamorgan. He did not confine his attention to these counties, and among the manuscripts he compiled are volumes of pedigrees of the families of Monmouthshire, North Wales, and also of English counties. A list of Edwardes' manuscripts and their wanderings will be found at Appendix A. He consulted many manuscripts, some of which are now lost. Among these were the manuscripts of Mr. Philipps of Cwmrige, Dick Howell William of Llywele, Edward James, the pedigree books of "my cousin" William Bennett of Penrees in Gower, George Owen of Henllys, the green book of Mr. Mansell, the Vairdre Book, Griffith Morgan of Tregaron's books, the manuscripts in Caius College library in Cambridge, and the Cotterel Book. He also compiled armorials of Welsh families, but did not confine his attention to the heraldry of his native land. He was a knowledgeable man with wide interests and considerable scholarship.

Hugh Thomas was a remarkable man. A descendant of an ancient but impoverished Breconshire family, he was the son of William Thomas, citizen of London. His grandfather, Roger Thomas (a younger son of Thomas ap John of Llanvrynach),<sup>2</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> See *Arch. Camb.*, October, 1858, p. 408, for an interesting account by C. de Keranflec'h.

<sup>2</sup> He was also interested in antiquities. Hugh Thomas wrote: "Guraldeg king of Garthmarthen or Breconshire is the first Lord of this Country I can finde any mention of and that in an old manuscript wrote about the time of Queen Elisabeth Titled the History of Brecknockshire (by my greate Grand Father Thomas ap John). . . ." (Harl. MS. 4181, fo. 68).

twice married. By his first wife Roger had five children, all of whom sought their fortunes in England. By his second wife he had two sons, Roger the elder who "sould all his Estate" and married the daughter of a corvisor from Brecon: the younger, William, went to London, where he married Petronilla the daughter of William Brand of Lincoln's Inn, gent., by whom he had three children, the eldest being Hugh. Thus Hugh belonged to a cadet branch, and like a large number of others in a similar position inherited little beyond a pedigree and what mental qualities such heredity could pass on to him. Hugh Thomas married Margaret daughter of George Good of Abergavenny by Thomasina Crosland his wife, but there was no issue from the union. He was a Tory with a strong dislike of Whigs, and he was a High Churchman with sympathies towards Roman Catholicism. What he did to provide himself with the things of this world is unknown, and I am rather inclined to believe that he relied solely upon his professional genealogical activities for a living. However, it is clear that he threw himself into the pursuit of Welsh pedigrees with an energy seldom equalled and never surpassed.<sup>1</sup> From his letters and works he appears to have been an amiable man, ready to listen to advice and guidance, and devoid of arrogance and officiousness. He was fortunate to come into contact with the squire of Llwynderw, and from the correspondence that passed between the two it is clear that Lewes constantly helped and advised Hugh, and from the manuscripts of the latter we are able to see that the advice was acted upon. For instance, we know that William Lewes had told Hugh all about his plan to arrange Welsh pedigrees by family groups under the patriarchal heads. Hugh was quick to appreciate the advantages of such a plan and he produced some of his own work along Lewes' plan. He also compiled pedigrees along another plan, save in narrative form similar to Peniarth MS. 156, which is said to have been copied from one of Lewes' manuscripts.

It is not known when he commenced his labours, but it was certainly before 1696, when he compiled a pedigree of the Mansells of Margam.<sup>2</sup> He was then living in Wales, probably in Brecon where his brother lived. In 1703 he was appointed deputy to Sir Henry St. George, Garter King of Arms, and no happier appointment was ever made by His Majesty's College. Not only was he a man of tremendous industry, but he was genuinely attracted by genealogical study which he loved for its own sake. Apart from writing tabular pedigrees with which he included descents of cadet branches, he also wrote family histories, and his history of his own unfortunate family is a tribute to his ability in that direction. His work as a herald was in the same class, and his knowledge of Welsh

<sup>1</sup> Some of his manuscripts, which he bequeathed to the Earl of Oxford, are now in the British Museum—Harl. MSS. 2218, 2288, 2289, 2291, 2299, 2300, 3325, 3538, 4181, 6108, 6831, 6823, 6870, 6828, 4181, and several more.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 393.



armory was only exceeded by that of his friend William Lewes, who helped him in armorial matters. Hugh's views on armory must be judged by the standards of the age in which he lived. An example of his acceptance of the fantastic notions then prevalent is found in a letter dated from London, 10th December, 1716, written to one of the Herefords of Worcestershire. He refers to the arms "of your Learned Ancestor Roger de Hereford . . . that being a great Astrologer & Nobly Borne was the Reason he bore for his Armes 3 white Eagles in a Red field to intimate his Ascending above the Clouds to Contemplate the Celistiall Motions."<sup>1</sup> In the same manuscript he refers to the arms of Moreiddig Warwyn as follows: "Moridhug Warwyn Lord of Cantrer Seliff at which Castle he was borne according to the Tradition of all ages with a snake about his neck which crept into his Mothers body as She slept in her Garden when she was with Child of him and therefore as a perpetual testimony of Gods Protection in his Mothers Wombe he & his descendants to this day have boren for their Armes three boyes heads with a snake Enwrapt about their Neckes by their Divine Number testifieing their faith in the Blessed Trinity."

It is possible from the manuscripts of Hugh Thomas to build up a fairly complete picture of his methods and skill as a genealogist. Among his volumes we find a large number of letters addressed to him from various people in England and Wales, some asking for genealogical information, and others in reply to his own letters. He often wrote draft letters which he later copied out in a fair hand. Some of these drafts are extremely revealing. He was also assisted by the famous Edward Llyud, who in turn was assisted by Hugh.<sup>2</sup> He searched the monuments in churches and churchyards, deeds, muniments, and records in Wales and England (particularly Breconshire and Wiltshire). He also visited Scotland in search of pedigree material. He was not unknown on the Continent, and he toured Flanders in the company of Sir Edward Nicholls, "a very Welshey & Antient Baronet." He was most diligent in searching for evidence, and in several of his manuscripts he gives lists of his authorities, e.g. "The Coats & ye Genealogies to wch they belonge were collected out of ye Bookes of Milles Yorke, Silvanus Morgans, George Owens, Henry Morgans of Glynayron, Thomas Jones of Funtaine Gate, John Moethy, Hugh Llûn, William Benett, Mr Mansells greene Booke, Sir John Price, Humphrey Lloyd and Cradocus Lhan-caruan."<sup>3</sup> He also based some of his pedigrees on the collections of Dwnn and Holmes, and he copied a work on Welsh saints "taken out of an old MS upon vellum written about the year 1250, and now in the custody of Mr Edward Lhuyd."<sup>4</sup> In an interesting certificate,

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 411.

<sup>2</sup> A letter from Lhuyd appears in Harl. MS. 6823, with a pedigree of the ancestors of Cadifor Fawr, described in Mr. Owen's catalogue as *descendants*.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 6870, fo. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MS. 2289, ff. 159b-160.

dated 17th September, 1717, he makes out a certificate explaining how he compiled the Hereford pedigree from parish registers, tombstones, etc. Part of this document reads: "... And I further am ready to Testify on my Oath that I have often been in the Chapell of Havard of Pontwillim adjoyning to the Parish Church of Saint John Evangelist in Brecknock in which these Armes, viz<sup>a</sup> Argent a Bulls face Gules armed or betwene 3 Mulets of the second are cut in stone & Painted in these Colours, with this Motto underneath Hope in God quoth Havard, under the greate Window over the Allter which I beleive to have been there ever since the Reformation or before. which said Estate of Pontwillim was afterwards sould and the Family have since resided at Tyllycron in the same County. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

He was very ready to criticize the work of other genealogists, and his views of Scots and Welsh practitioners are worth quoting. In a letter to one of his patrons he says: "By what I have learned by Letters from Scotland I finde their Heralds are much like our Welsh ones who never search particulars & Authority for Confirmation of their Pedigrees but content themselves with giving an account of the bare line without making them greate by the many flourishing Branches descended from them but borrowing their grandure from the severall families whose Daughters they have married."<sup>2</sup> This criticism, however, was not wholly justified, for during the seventeenth century a large number of Welsh genealogists were clothing the "bare lines," and at the beginning of the century men like George Owen and Thomas Jones had started paying close attention to the cadets of our old families, while at its close, Hugh Thomas himself, David Edwardes, and William Lewes, made such a study a characteristic of their works.

Hugh Thomas was ambitious as well as industrious. Having packed many trunks and cases, he essayed to embark upon several literary journeys. For his ambition was to publish the fruits of his labours. Alas poor Hugh! he had packed in vain for journeys that were never made. Having no money to pay for the publication of his works, he applied to the rich, to one noble lord after another, but no one heeded, and Wales was the poorer as a result of the indifference of her opulent sons. He had arranged many of his manuscripts in book form, and throughout his collections we come across specimen "title pages" written in his own hand. He had also planned to write a History of Wales, of Breconshire, of great families, and of Welsh tribal groups, but no wealthy patron condescended to notice this able genealogist who claimed descent with them, from Brychan and a dozen other princes. However, towards the end of his days he did receive financial help as we shall see, but it had come too late. One of the title pages of these projected works

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 437.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 6823, fos. 54-54a.

reads: "A / Genealogical / History / of the Antient / Nobility and Gentry / of all Wales / And of severall Families Descended thence now living in / England ; to the Vnion of England & Wales in the Reigne of King / Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> & somthing later, continued to such of the / Present Nobility & Gentry as shall contribute towards The Authors / Expenses for five years or otherwise Incourage the same. in Three Parts / First of such as are of the Antient British Race / Second of such Families as seated themselves in Wales by Conquest / Third of such Families as seated themselves in Wales since the / Conquest thereof / From Authentick Records Inscriptions on Grave-stones / Collections and Visitations to all the Churches & places of / Note in Wales and the Neighbouring parts / Adorned with Copper-cuts of the Armes Monuments Grave-stones / and Glass-windows of the Principal Benifactors to this worke / nothing of this nature being ever yet Published / By Hugh Thomas / We whose names are here unto Subscribed doe judg Mr Hugh Thomas capable of this undertaking: and doe very well approue the designe." It contains one signature only—"Edw Lluyd."<sup>1</sup> This page seems to have been written in the form of a prospectus, and it is interesting to learn that the great Lluyd at least approved of it. Another "title-page" showed that he was the forerunner of Browne Willis and Sir Stephen Glynne, for he loved the old churches of his native land. This projected work was to be called: "A / History of all the *Churches and* holy Places / of *Pilgrimage* within Wales the Lives / & *Historys* of many of their Saints & their / feasts of all their Churches / of *Wales never yet / published by Pilgromages / In* Visits to all the Parishes / of Wales and Man Ile & / the Neighbouring parts / never yet published & / *wholy strange to the /* with many things never / yet knowne to the / English." Hugh had edited this title-page and the italicized words are those he crossed out. His manuscripts contain many descriptions and sketches of churches and tombstones, many of which have been destroyed since his time and before ours. He also proposed to write short histories of families such as "A Genealogical History of the Illustrious House of Bleddyn ap Maenarch . . . and especially their descendants the Jeffreys of Lliwel," which he wrote and brought down to 1712. About this time he approached the Duke of Beaufort, and his draft letter, which is still preserved,<sup>2</sup> is of especial interest since it concerns the accuracy of the much-debated pedigree of the Welsh Herberts, from whom His Grace, by the distaff, was descended. He prefaced his letter by requesting the ducal patronage for "a worke

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 1. Lhuyd may have suggested this to Hugh. Compare Lhuyd's letter, dated 2nd May, 1695, to John Lloyd of Ruthin, stating that some Glamorgan gentlemen had invited him to write a Natural History of Wales, "with an offer of an annual pension from their County of about ten pounds for the space of seaven years, to enable me to travail," etc. He added that were the gentlemen of the other Welsh counties to act similarly, he would devote his life to the project—R. T. Gunther, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–70.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 6823, fos. 50–50a.



I have had in View this 20 years past. . . . My Lord, History & Heraldry have been my perticuler Study this 22 years in which time as your grace is not only the most noble in titles but descent of all the British race. I have entered into the secret of your Graces Pedigree and cannot finde one of our Antient Authors that agree with the Pedigree certified to K.E.4 the 2<sup>d</sup> yeare of his Reigne Anno 1462 & Printed by S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Dugdale from the Certificate. . . ." He then states that Iolo Goch "who lived about 1400" had said that the Herbert family was originally British and paternally descended by the princes of Cornwall from Maximus the British Emperor of Rome ; and that a manuscript in the Harleian Library 62C, 14, p. 41, agrees and calls him Herbet ap Godwin a Cornish prince, driven out of his dominions by King John, and fled to Wales for safety where he was slain in Glamorgan in 1199 and buried at Margam, leaving a son called Kynaethwy and a daughter called Llyant Gweitho wife to Rhys Vole ap Rhys Goch ap Riccard of Glyn Neath. With this Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt agrees. He goes on to say that Kynhaethwy had a son Adha or Adam, from which Adam downwards all writers agree with Dugdale. "Hence it is reasonable to beleive that the Pedigree returned by the Heralds to K. E. 4<sup>th</sup> was calculated only to serve a turne the barberous Laws against the Welsh then in force depriving every Britaine of all Honours & dignities and both King and Country had then Occation for the service of S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> ap W<sup>m</sup> in the House of Lords upon which to over reach those Acts of Parliament the Welsh Heralds Craftily made his Adha or Adam to be the son of Reginald the son of Peter the son of Herbert the son of Herbert Naturall son of K. Henry the first upon which that W<sup>m</sup> was created Earl of Penbrook by the name of W<sup>m</sup> Herbert there having been such a family in the borders of Wales which all our Records testifie died Issueless and doe attest they come in with W<sup>m</sup> the Conqueror and were not basely descended from K. H. the first but indeed Dugdale saith p 624 that Herbert fitz Herbert married a Concubine of K. H. the first."

"Therefore my L'd I shall endeavour not only to set right this part of your Graces Pedigree but to put the History of Maximus in a cleare light from the Aspertions of the writers of those dayes and to deliver the history of your Noble Ancestor from him to the yeare of our Lord 688 . . ."

The key to the perplexity attending the pedigree of the Welsh Herberts is the Adam mentioned by Hugh Thomas, and until satisfactory evidence can be adduced establishing his parentage, his marriage, and his children, then the cloud of doubt will continue to shadow this well-known genealogy. As Hugh Thomas' work on the subject was not published we conclude that His Grace was not anxious to disturb the dust of the family history and that he cared not a fig for his relationship with Maximus. One doubts whether Hugh's efforts would have cleared up the difficulties of the Herbert pedigree to anyone's satisfaction, except, perhaps, to his own.

An amusing set of verses, in his own handwriting, shows that Hugh was prepared to bring comfort to those who had no family trees. This genealogical *canu rhydd* is as follows:—

Yrhay sy'n dychymmig nad ydyw fondeddig  
 Fy atteba chwi ar chydig o eireu  
 O Noe ai dru meibon y daeth yr holl ddynon  
 O un y daith person y Cantre.  
 Er whalu hyr whelle am ychell fawr ache  
 Wrth lafar hen lyfre rwy inne riw fodd  
 Yn dala gwadolath o Sem Ham ne Japheth  
 Rhowch gyfru o ragoriath pwy gariodd.  
 Puy gariodd y gore rhaid edrych hyd adre  
 Tru Brodyr ar brydie oedd gwreidde pob gradd  
 Pa fonciff ar fencyn y hanodd o henyn  
 Heb gringoed ar gwerin i'w gyrradd.<sup>1</sup>

(Harl. MS. 2300.)

A study of his manuscripts points to the shortcomings in Hugh Thomas' education. His knowledge of Latin was not very sound, and his knowledge of Welsh was probably confined to the spoken patois of his native Brecon. Despite his shortcomings he achieved much, and in his manuscripts he has preserved some useful information that would otherwise have been lost. According to Blackwell and others, his death took place in 1714. This is inaccurate. His will, dated 14th September, 1720, was proved on 6th October, 1720 (P.C.C. 221, Shaller). He was a worthy son of Wales and is a fit subject of a biographical work.

His will contains important information. He bequeathed to the Earl of Oxford "all manuscripts and Historical Collections hoping his Lordship will make up the damage of them to my poor Brother." It is pleasant to be able to record that his Lordship did pay "the damage" to the penurious brother, William Thomas. Of greater significance is the following instruction in the will: "Whereas I have recovered several pounds towards printing my book now in the press and begun by Mr John Lewis of Llanymdover if I chance to die before the same is published, my desire is that the sheets already printed be delivered to them towards their satisfaction what money they contributed having been spent in the work." On finding this I wrote to Sir William Ll. Davies in the matter, and he very kindly lent me this scarce book: "The History of Great Britain . . . by John Lewis, Esq., Barrister at Law, now first published from his Original Manuscript. To which is added, The Breviary of Britayne, written in Latin by Humphrey Lhuyd, of Denbigh, a Cambre Britayne; and lately Englished by Thomas Twine, Gent. London. Printed for F. Gyles in Holborn, Mess. Woodman and Lyon in Covent-Garden, and C. Davies in Pater-Noster-Row. M DCC XXIX." Internal evidence proves that John Lewis wrote the original manuscript before 1612, and it came later into the hands of Hugh Thomas. Hugh's name does not

<sup>1</sup> For the author of these verses see Jones, *Breconshire*, p. 470.

appear anywhere in the printed book but a large number of additions were made by one who signs himself "Editor." There can be no doubt whatsoever as to the identity of this editor. Some of these editorial additions occur in Hugh Thomas' handwriting in his manuscripts now in the British Museum and are highly characteristic. Perhaps the Duke of Beaufort did help him after all, for on p. 28, chapter 1, Book II, he corrects "the Mistaking of our Hieraughts" in regard to the Herberts and sets his seal on their British descent. Hugh's friend, Edward Lhuyd, contributed an interesting preface to the book, and so it was "on the stocks" before 1709, which was the year of Lhuyd's death. Poor Hugh never saw the results of his labour, and it was some nine years after his death before it appeared on the bookstalls.

By the end of the century many people regarded the Welsh attachment to genealogy as somewhat of a joke. The English, as ever, took great delight in pointing to this pedigree-pride, and there is evidence that the Welsh themselves were turning to it as a subject of merriment. The most amusing instance is that found in *Gweledig-aethau y Bardd Cwsg* (1703) written by Ellis Wynne of Glasynys, a descendant of one of the old families of the Principality. The book is in the nature of an allegory, and the writer describes a visit to hell. In one corner of this terrible place he heard much conversation and mirth among the ghoulish servitors of the Enemy of Mankind. He realized what all the fun was about when he beheld two newly-arrived Welsh gentlemen who were arguing about the respect due to their rank. One of the squires had with him a pedigree chart which showed his descent from one of the fifteen tribes, and how many magistrates and sheriffs appeared in his ancestry. The fiends then took a hand in the argument, and one said: "Ha! Ha! we know the deserts of your ancestors. You are the heir of Hell, you dirty flame-hound!" And so saying the monster dug a pitch-fork into the gentleman, threw him into the air where he turned thirty somersaults before disappearing through a fiery hole. The other Welsh gentleman then coolly observed: "That sort of thing may well happen to a gentleman of half-blood, but I hope you will behave with more propriety to me—a knight who has served the king, and with twelve earls and fifty-two knights in my ancestry." The fiend answered: "If ancestry and pedigrees are all you have to plead, you can start on the same road! because all we recall are your large estates, assembled by oppressors, murderers, or arch-brigands, which they bequeathed to oppressors like you, lazy tadpoles and drunken hogs. You maintained this estate by oppression and tyranny. Woe! is not all blood of the same colour? Are not all born alike?" The Welsh gentleman answered that some births were purer than others. The fiend exploded: "Good destruction! Is there a hair of you better than the others. You are all tainted with original sin. But, sir, if your blood be better than the others there will be *less* scum when we boil



you, and if there be *more* scum, then we will put every scrap of your body through fire and water." Thereupon a fiery chariot arrived, and with much mockery the gentleman was lifted into it, and away it went like lightning. "After a moment I looked and beheld the knight, poor fellow, being basted unmercifully in a huge fiery furnace in the company of Cain, Nimrod, Esau, Tarquin, Nero, Caligula, and others, who had originated coats of arms for the gentry." Although this was based on Quevedo's work, there can be no doubt that it was applicable to Wales.

From this Horrid Warning to Heralds and Genealogists we turn with relief to the lighter picture depicted by Sir John Vanbrugh in his delightful play *Æsop*, written about 1697.<sup>1</sup> A man called Quaint who described himself as a genealogist called on Æsop saying: "There's ne'er a Herald in all Asia, shall put better Blood in his Veins, then—Sir, your humble Servant, Jacob Quaint." Æsop asks whether he had known his (Æsop's) father.

*Quaint*: "Your Father, Sir, ha, ha: I know every Man's Father, Sir, and every Man's Grand-father, and every Man's Great Grand-father. Why, Sir, I'm a Herald by Nature, my Mother was a *Welch Woman*."

*Æsop*: "A Welch Woman? prithee of what Country's that?"

*Quaint*: "That, Sir, is a Country in the World's back-side, where every Man is born a Gentleman, and a Genealogist, Sir. I cou'd tell my Mothers Pedigree before I cou'd speak plain: which, to show you the depth of my Art, and the strength of my Memory, I'll trundle you down in an instant. Noah had three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet: Shem——"

*Æsop*: "Hold, I conjure thee, in the Name of all thy Ancestors."

*Quaint*: "Sir, I cou'd take it higher, but I begin at Noah for brevity's sake."

*Æsop*: "No more on't, I intreat thee."

But satire and comedy did nothing to allay the Welshman's love for his pedigree. The Quaints continued to hold high their heads, and the Cymric landed gentry appeared resolute to face all the terrors of the unseen armed with emblazoned descents from the fifteen tribes and from Shem and Ham and Japhet. It is to be hoped, after the mortal coils had been cast aside, that Ellis Wynne and Sir John Vanbrugh, were not called upon to witness the writhings and torments of Master Lewis Dwnn and the Squire of Hengwrt as they bubbled in the vast cauldron that held Cain, Nimrod, and the rest of the armorially-inclined patriarchs of earlier days.

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, Vol. 2, p. 32 et seq.

## V. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

This century saw a great change in the economic life of Britain. The development of colonial enterprise brought great wealth to the nation, and vast fortunes were made in the plantations. At home mineral wealth was exploited, factories came into existence, and canals and roads were improved and extended to meet the new conditions. A new class of able industrial masters arose, and having accrued much wealth by good fortune and good industry, they employed their profits to buy land, which gave them political power. The smaller squires and freeholders often sold out to these nabobs, and by the end of the century the sun of the small squire had set in England and the great landowner dominated the scene.<sup>1</sup> This is mainly applicable to England, for we find that a considerable number of small estates held their own in Wales, and, indeed, many of them are still in existence. A glance at the Land Tax Lists and the Freeholders Books for the period reveals a very large number of small landowners. Nevertheless they were fewer in number than they were in the previous century, and the trend was unmistakable. The land was slowly slipping from the hands of the smaller freeholders and was being accumulated by the grand *seigneur*. A striking passage in an unpublished diary of a tour in Wales reveals the position in a Merionethshire district towards the end of the century. The tourist wrote in July, 1770, as follows: "... visit Dol y Moch the property of the Wynnes, never finished. The view of these places melancholy deserted and ruinous once the seat of hospitality & mirth—

*Deserted seats in Merionethshire*

1 Dole y moch. 2 Pengwern. 3 Bryn yr odyn. 4 Cynfal. 5 Glynne. 6 Park. 7 Dole y Mallyn. 8 Kefn dauddwr. 9 Rhiw goch. 10 Maes gwin. 11 Celli Ierwerth. 12 Nant budr. 13 Blaen y cwm. 14 Llwyn crwn. 15 Llandesk wyn. 16 Y Gwylan. 17 Bryn hir. 18 Coed y rhygyn. 19 Tyddin du. 20 Yskir nolwyn or velyn rhyd. 21 Cefn Fowor. 22 Tal Tercuddyn. 23 Lasynys, Wynn's. 24 Talarn. 25 Cair gai. 26 Glan y Llyn. 27 Maes y pandy. 28 Aber Llwyfeni. 29 Rhiwadog. 30 Cwm aen. 31 ynis y maengwin. 32 Caeth Le. 33 Pant perthog. 34 Esgair weddar. 35 Dol y gelynen—most of these now swallowed by our Welch Leviathans." (N.L.W. MS. 2532B, fo. 28.)

Profound changes were felt in constitutional history, the accession of the Hanoverians, the Jacobite risings, the emergence of two

<sup>1</sup> See "English Landownership, 1680–1740," by Mr. H. J. Habakkuk in *Economic Historical Review*, Vol. X, No. 1 (1940). The tendencies described therein relate mainly to England, and are applicable only in a modified degree to Wales. See also D. J. Davies, *Economic History of South Wales Prior to 1800*; R. T. Jenkins, *Hanes Cymru yn y Ddeunawfed Ganrif*; J. J. Evans, *Cymry Enwog y Ddeunawfed Ganrif*; Sir L. T. Davies and Miss A. Edwards, *Welsh Life in the Eighteenth Century*.

powerful political parties, and the introduction of certain radical philosophies at the end of the century, were all to affect most profoundly the minds of the people. Our military and naval exploits opened new fields for enterprise. The term nonconformity lost its technical meaning and became converted into what was, as far as Wales was concerned, a new religion. It was a century of contrasts—of the very rich and the very poor, of squires and paupers, of great industrial princes and child workers.

How did Welsh genealogy fare in this brisk century? We find that there was a considerable interest taken in Welsh antiquities and literature generally. The beginning of the century continued to see the labours of Edward Lhuyd, William Lewes, and Hugh Thomas, and after them came Theophilus Evans, Henry Rowlands, Moses Williams, William Gambold, Goronwy Owen, Ieuan Fardd, Thomas Pennant, the Morris brothers, Owen Myfyr, Dr. Owen-Pughe, Iolo Morganwg, Theophilus Jones, Richard Fenton, and many others of equal lustre. However, the century did not produce one great genealogist or any outstanding collection of manuscript genealogies and armorials. Those who did enter the field were not comparable to the men of the previous century. In England, Collins' genealogical peerage, despite its shortcomings, and Garter Anstis' work in the College of Arms, were of a high standard. But on the whole genealogical studies in England were inclined to languish, and nothing was produced which merits a high place in such literature.

The anglicization of the Welsh gentry, which had been going on for two centuries, was finally completed during this period. The sons and daughters of the squires were in the main educated in English schools and universities. Bath and London attracted vast numbers of the Welsh people, who brought home the fashions and standards of another race. The industrial development brought an increase of English dwellers in Wales, with the result that the towns and boroughs lost their native flavour, and only the hilly districts and agricultural areas retained the old traditions and the old way of life. The day of the family bard was over, although a few harpists continued to tune the strings in the halls of the squires. Such was Edward Jones (1767–1813), a native of Pen-y-pistyll, Pontypool, and family harpist to the houses of Tredegar, Cefn Mabli, and Llanover, and David Nicholas (*ob.* 1774), family bard to the Williams' of Aberpergwm. Griffith Owen was harpist to Mr. Corbett of Ynysymaengwyn, and his pupil was playing his harp in Glamorgan in 1835.<sup>1</sup> Elegies along traditional lines (but in free metre) were written to William Vaughan of Corsygedol (1775),<sup>2</sup> to the squire of Cwmgloyne (1777), and to the great Sir Watkin. But these were

<sup>1</sup> *Glamorgan Gazette*, 28th November, 1835.

<sup>2</sup> N.L.W. MS. 2008B, fo. 1.



isolated survivals, and the family bard gave way to Sir Roger Mostyn's Billy Bangor and to the Buffoon of Llanreithan.<sup>1</sup> The *neithior* gave way to the assembly rooms, and the *cynganedd* to Mr. Pope's verses and to the political lampoon.

Despite all this, the Welshman's character did not really change. Behind the fan and the quizzing glass were eager eyes which still sparkled at the sight of an emblazoned roll, and periwigged heads that were raised a little higher at the sound of the names of Elystan Glodrydd and Nefydd Hardd. The monumental mason still had long sentences to carve over the last resting places of departed gentry, and many a squire continued to believe that, had he his rights, he should certainly be a prince in Wales if not of Wales. All the gentry had adopted settled surnames during the previous century, as also had the majority of minor *bonheddig* and farmers. However, the old nomenclature was far from dead. English visitors were quick to notice the survival of the old Welsh characteristics, and it is interesting to note the remarks of the celebrated Daniel Defoe in 1724-6. He wrote: "... the *Welsh Gentlemen* are very civil, hospitable, and kind; the People very obliging and conversible, and especially to Strangers. . . . They value themselves much upon their Antiquity: the Antient Race of their Houses, and Families, and the like; and above all, upon their Antient Heroes: their King *Caractacus*, *Owen ap Tudor*, Prince *Lewellin*, and the like Noblemen and Princes of *British* Extraction. . . . The Gentlemen of *Wales*, indeed justly claim a very Antient Descent, and have preserv'd their Families entire, for many Ages: They receive you well into their Houses, treat very handsomely, are very generous; and indeed, nothing is wanting within Doors, and which is more than all, they have generally very good Estates."<sup>2</sup> An English tourist in 1743 found the Welsh love of pedigrees and gentility a subject for much mirth.<sup>3</sup> He says: "... nor can there be any thing imagined so troublesome, as a *Welshman*, when possessed with the Spirit of Genealogy. They are doubtless, the true Offspring of the ancient *Britons*, and have crept into this obscure Corner of the World, no ways able to recompense the Toil of Conquest. . . . They are so well vers'd in the History of their Descents, that you shall hear a poor Beggar Woman derive her Extraction from the first Maid of Honour to Nimrod's Wife, or else she thinks she is No-body. . . . If they want a Pewter-Spoon or Porringer in their House, yet they by no Means be without a

<sup>1</sup> For amusing anecdotes about Billy see *Cambrian Remembrancer* for February, 1878, and July, 1879. Many tales of the buffoon, who was jester to John Laugharne of Llanreithan (*ob.* 1759), are still told in north Pembrokeshire. Unfortunately they are too Rabelaisian in character to be reproduced in this, or any other, genteel journal. Squire Laugharne and the buffoon were rather coarse fellows, I'm afraid.

<sup>2</sup> Defoe's *Tour*, printed 1724-6.

<sup>3</sup> *A Collection of Welch Travels, &c.*, by J. T. a mighty Lover of Welsh Travels (1743), pp. 37, 65, 90, etc.

Pedigree. . . . The whole Nation (like a *German Family*) is one of Quality ; for as every Lord's son is a *Lord here*, so every one is crown'd with the Title of Gentlemen there. . . ." Many other amusing examples of the same trend are to be found in this scarce and curious book.

At the close of the century the same characteristics were undiminished. In August, 1797, the Revd. Richard Warner engaged as his guide to Cader Idris a Welshman who quickly revealed his native trait. Warner wrote that his guide was "Mr. David Pughe, a thick-set little Cambrian between fifty and sixty. We soon found he was a character. His pompous manner and affected dignity were highly diverting, and the triumph with which he dwelt on the antiquity of his family afforded a whimsical example of that harmless pride which the Welsh, with all their excellencies possess in a higher degree than any of their neighbours. The founder of his stock was, he assured us, an hero who flourished some ages before the Christian epoch ; and he affirmed it appeared by an elaborate genealogy, which was made out about three years since, that his race had flowed in an uninterrupted stream for no less than three thousand years !" But what Mr. Warner termed "harmless pride" was described in 1804 by another tourist as an instinct which could be a menace to the King's peace. The Revd. John Evans of Bath wrote : "A Welshman, if he can find in his genealogy a *Chieftain Bard*, or Warrior, considers himself nobly born ; the least reflection therefore on his family, especially over a jug of cwrw, infallibly subjects the libeller to a volley of abuse, if not to a direct assault."

When Warner called at Llangollen church he had an informative chat with the sexton. He was astonished to find that the sexton gave him not merely the name of the saint to which the parish church was dedicated, but also a saintly pedigree of eight generations. He noted : "It is as follows : St. Collen ap Gwynnawg ap Clydawg ap Cowrda ap Caradog Freichvras ap Lleyr Merim ap Einion Yrth ap Cunedda Wledig ; the sexton repeated it twice or thrice, with emphasis and deliberation. . . ." I wonder how many of our present-day sextons are as knowledgeable as this old man. No doubt the sexton of Llangollen venerated St. Collen as much, if not more, for his princely descent as for his saintly qualities.

The native fondness for exhibiting their pedigrees in monumental inscriptions continued to be practised. One startling example was noticed by several tourists and is printed in full in *Arch. Camb.* for 1886. Erected shortly after 1717, it commemorates the ancient family of Williams of Dyffryn, which traced to Jestyn Prince of Glamorgan in the late eleventh century, and was erected in Cadoxton church near Neath. Coxe<sup>1</sup> noticed a similar example in

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire* (1801), p. 223. A member of this family, Phillip Williams, was a fine genealogist, and his ability in that direction is noted by Lhuyd who called him "a Glamorganshire herald" (R. T. Gunther, *op. cit.*, pp. 541-5).

Llanover church, and he observed: "On examining the sepulchral inscriptions, I was struck with a singular instance of that pride of ancestry for which the Welsh were formerly distinguished, which excited emulation in an age of chivalry and furnished themes of never failing incense to the bards of yore:—'Here lyeth the bodies of William Prichard, / of Lanover, Esquier, and of Matthew Prichard, / of Lanover, Esq. His sonne and Heire lineally Descended from the Bodye of Cradocke / Vraich vras Earle of Hereford and Prince / Betweene Wye and Seaverne'." These monuments call to mind Dr. Johnson's famous remark: "In lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath." No doubt it was a circumstance of this nature that inspired David Davis of Castell Hywel to write his poem "Yn Erbyn Balchder mewn Achau."<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Welsh manuscripts of this period were kept in the libraries of country houses. A short review written on the state of these manuscripts about 1800, reads as follows: "Our old manuscripts have for ages been locked up in the libraries of some of the first families in Wales, first in rank, first in fortune, and what on the present occasion is worth notice, first of birth and descent. These libraries have not for several centuries been disturbed by change of proprietors."<sup>2</sup> I have been struck several times by the large number of references to books in early wills and inventories of Welshmen, in the manuscripts and unpublished letters, that are now fortunately safe in our national repositories. The valuable collections of documents in the National Library of Wales contain large numbers of early inventories of the contents of libraries (sometimes in great detail, each book being named) of bygone Welsh squires. A history of old private libraries would be an addition to polite education, and it is hoped that someone will consider this a worthy subject for research. The genealogical manuscripts written in this century contain no material of a new character. The pedigrees are mainly in tabular form, but there are a few narrative ones, and there was an increase in the family history as distinct from the bare pedigree. They still traced to Adam with unabated zest and continued to show that the reigning monarchs had the blood of Cadwalader in their veins. Thus, a manuscript by Benjamin Simon of Abergwili<sup>3</sup> contains a brief chronicle arranged in tabular pedigree form, beginning with "Noah the first Patriarch of the World," proceeding down the usual channels to end, with commendable patriotism, in George III. On the whole, there was little original work, and most of the manuscripts were copies of earlier works, and *Achau y Mamau*, *Bonedd y Saint*, and the *Pymthegllwyth*, rear their hoary heads from the yellow folios. Creative genealogists like Hiraethog and William Lewes were no

<sup>1</sup> *Telyn Dewi*, 1824.

<sup>2</sup> *Myfyrian Archaeology*, Vol. I (1801), p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Cardiff MS. 62.



longer found. It is true that many people wrote their own family histories which they brought down to their own times, but little effort was made to do what the author of the Golden Grove manuscript had achieved. That is one of the reasons why this century, despite its wealth of memoranda, is a very difficult one for Welsh genealogists of the present day.

A number of the owners of manuscripts allowed them to be consulted and transcribed, and the works of literary men in this century are full of references to this generosity. It is pleasant to note that the squire of Hengwrt continued to allow scholars to view the treasures of old Wales that were in his keeping. Thus, on 18th July, 1770, a tourist reached "Hêngwrt, seat of Mr. Hugh Vaughan ; great great Grandson of the famous antiquary Mr. Robert Vaughan ; whose Collection of MS. so well known, is preserved here & Mr Vaughan was so kind as to indulge me with a sight of them and permitted me to make extracts. . . ." (N.L.W. MS. 2532B, fo. 48).

A diminution in the number of children is a marked feature of the pedigrees written during this century, although some examples show that families large in number were still to be found. According to Lord Lyttleton in 1756, "not long ago died in this district [Festiniog] an honest Welsh farmer aged 105. By the first wife he had thirty children, ten by the second, four by the third, and seven by two concubines. His youngest son was 81 years younger than his eldest, and 800 persons descended from his body attended the funeral." No family Bible had ever been made large enough to contain a record of so vast a tribe. But this enthusiast was most unusual, even for a Welsh patriarch, and, generally speaking, the numerical size of families remained within manageable proportions.

The *Additional Morris Letters* (Pt. I, 1947) contain several references to the practice of genealogy. On New Years Day, 1749, Lewis Morris (1703-65) wrote to William Jones claiming kinship, and opened his letter thus : "It was a custom among the Ancient Britons (and still retained in Anglesey) for the most knowing among them in the descent of families to send their friends of the same stock or family a *dydd calan Ionawr a calennig*, a present of their pedigree ; which was in order, I presume, to keep up a friendship among relations, which these people preserved surprisingly, and do to this day amongst the meanest of them, to the sixth and seventh degree" (p. 190). There is no evidence whatsoever that either ancient or modern Britons were addicted to this agreeable practice, and all genealogical records are silent on the matter. I wrote to several Welsh scholars asking them whether they had ever heard of such a custom in Anglesey or elsewhere. They answered that they had not heard of it. There can be no doubt whatsoever that this was a piece of pseudo-tradition, and, one regrets to say, not the sole example of the industry of the Morris brothers in that direction. William Morris (1707-64) was also

interested in pedigrees, and it is to be hoped that he observed a greater respect for truth than did brother Lewis. In 1751 he made out the pedigree and arms of the family of Price of Bodafon for Mr. Ellis Price, with the assistance of some manuscripts and a chart formerly owned by the Prices and then in the hands of their kinsfolk the Williams' of Bodafon ucha (*ibid.*, p. 205). According to Mr. J. J. Evans the Morrisises were descendants of the old family of Bulkeley and of one of the fifteen tribes. The father, Morris ap Richard Morris, had shared the fate of the minor *bonheddig*, and now followed the trade of a cooper and carpenter. Whether honest Morris was ever stirred by the pride of long descent is unknown, but his sons, with their love for antiquities, reverted to the earlier ancestral glories. A letter was written in 1753 by William Morris to his brother Richard, relating to the adoption of a coat-of-arms, and it is an extremely interesting example of armorial practice in Wales.<sup>1</sup> William stated that all descendants of a family group in Wales were entitled to bear the arms of the "founder," and as the Morris family was descended from Gweirydd ap Rhys, Lord of Talabolion, he decided that he would bear the arms of the said Gweirydd. It is significant that, even at this late period, there was no certainty about the correct tinctures and charges of Gweirydd's arms, and in a further letter in the same year William having quoted the variants, finally makes an arbitrary decision on the forms he proposed to adopt.

The value of a Welsh pedigree as a bargaining power when soliciting a fair lady's affections, is borne out by the circumstances attending the marriage of an eighteenth century ancestor of the Gwynnes of Monachty. Alban Thomas (1686-1771), son of the Revd. Alban Thomas of Rhôs, Cardiganshire, was a doctor with a London practice. There he met a beautiful lady of good family, and, after a while, he proposed to her. The proposal had a favourable reception, but the young lady made one stipulation—that she would marry him only if he were entitled to bear arms. This proved a "fast one" for the worthy doctor, for he had left his native Wales when young and had applied himself to purging and blood-letting to the total exclusion of the genealogical hobbies of his race. Faced with this dilemma he wrote to his father, who immediately sent him the family tree tracing an unbroken descent from the Lords of Towyn who bore *azure* a chevron *or*, in chief two fleur de lis, and in base a lion rampant of the second. This he proudly exhibited to the fair object of his affections, and within a short while the triumphant Dr. Thomas led a blushing and happy bride to the hymeneal altar. Such is the compelling power of a Welsh pedigree!

The family pride of a Progers of Wernddu near Abergavenny in Monmouthshire was proverbial. Derived from the great family of

<sup>1</sup> *Morris Letter*, ed. J. H. Davies, p. 219.

the Welsh Herberts he dwelt in an ancient but dilapidated manor-house which had been the home of his ancestors from medieval days. A stranger meeting him, politely inquired whose house it was. "That Sir," replied Mr. Proger, "is Wernddu, a very ancient house, for out of it came the Earls of Pembroke, the Lords Herbert of Chirbury, the Herberts of Coldbrooke, Rumney, Cardiff, and York : the Morgans of Arxton, the Earls of Huntingdon, the Jones of Treowen and Llanarth, and all the Powells : and by the female line came the Dukes of Beaufort." "And pray, Sir," inquired the puzzled stranger, "who lives there now?" "I do, Sir," was the proud answer. "Then pardon me," said the stranger, "and accept a piece of advice ; for God's sake, come out of it yourself or 'twill fall and crush you !" The reactions of Mr. Proger to this gratuitous advice are not known, but no doubt they were of the true cholerick Welsh kind if we are to judge from another genealogical anecdote relating to him. The tale was told towards the end of the century by William Jones of Clytha who observed : "The old inhabitants of Monmouthshire valued themselves much on account of their Families." About 1715, Mr. Proger of Wernddu dined at Monmouth with an English friend. In the evening they set out on horseback for Wernddu, when a heavy storm overtook them. Fortunately they were not far from Perthir, the seat of the Powells who were descended from the same stock as Mr. Proger, and thither the two benighted gentlemen now turned their horses' heads. Now, there had been in the past several fierce arguments between the kinsmen relating to the seniority of their respective lines. Powell claimed to represent the senior branch, but this was sternly contested by his kinsman of Wernddu. On being asked for a night's lodging and refuge, Mr. Powell said he would be delighted to entertain them—but only on one condition, that Mr. Proger acknowledged, there and then, that the squire of Perthir was the unquestioned head of the ancient family. This was indignantly refused, and thereupon the two squires fell into a hot and lengthy genealogical argument about the merits of their claims. Finally Mr. Proger turned away, preferring to face the terrors of the storm than submit to his kinsman's claim. This Mr. Proger was the father of William Proger, the last of the family, who died about 1780.

Although the century was rich in authors of historical and antiquarian literature, very little was produced which may be described as truly genealogical. It is true that genealogy entered into the works of several writers, but it was merely an incidental corollary. Those who studied genealogy as a subject were a minority, and their works were of a very local and limited nature. Yet these men, despite the paucity of their numbers and the meagreness of their work, were well grounded in the lore of the old *uchelwyr*, and it is to them that we return thanks for preserving the Welsh genealogical tradition and for handing the torch on to the later generations.



At the opening of the century we have already noted the industry of Hugh Thomas and William Lewes, heirs of the learning of the previous century. To that period also belonged John Davies of Rhiwlas, a Denbighshire squire of the old school. He had studied old genealogical manuscripts, and had copied many, bringing them down to his own date.<sup>1</sup> His main claim to fame is his published work *A Display of Herauldry* (1716), of some 77 pages dealing mainly with North Wales families. In this work he shows a critical mind, draws attention to discrepancies in certain coats of arms, quotes some interesting heraldic legends, and gives the names of descendants under their appropriate patriarchs. On p. 72 he gave the sources of his information, and names some sixteen bards and armorists, and some nine esquires, as his helpers. Among the former we find Lewis Glyn Cothi, Hiraethog, and Simwnt Vychan, and among the latter the names of Thomas Jones of Tregaron, Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, and Thomas Tanat of Neuaddwen. He had also been in touch with William Lewes, and a letter now in the College of Arms from John Davies contains a reply to William Lewes who had criticized Davies' book. It is an interesting letter and does not hold up some of the Northern gentry in a very favourable light. John Davies dated it from Rhiwlas on 7th August, 1718, in answer to "your letter dated 19 May," wherein it had been stated "that my rudiments had been more Significant and Acceptable if I had amplified the meritorious actions of the descendants from those great Ancestours. I thought first to mention something of their chivalry as I did of the Valourous acts of John ap Me'dh and others, but I perceiv'd I could not Compose it in Short, and that it was two Enterprises taken in hand and the one would hommer out the other and Create Emulation in the Gentlemen that were Omitted Saying that their Ancestors should have been Extold as well as others though some of their posterity mought onely be coñmemorated for their dissolute and debauch'd liveing more then any famous Acts atchived soe I thought more decent to desist, and let them depend upon that Eminent and learned Author Dr David Powell. . . ." Most of his manuscripts came to his nephew John Reynolds of Oswestry, who had inherited his uncle's love for genealogy and armory. On his father's side, Reynolds was descended from Tudor Trevor. He wrote *The Scripture Genealogy*, etc. (1739), which was partly based on John Davies' work. His work was inferior to that of his uncle, and he does not display any critical acumen.

In South-West Wales, John Lewis was busily writing family trees within the walls of the ancient country house of Manorowen in Pembrokeshire. He was a descendant of an old landowning stock, and his father John Lewis of Nantybugail had received a grant of parts of the sequestered episcopal lordship of Dewsland, in 1648.

<sup>1</sup> For his pedigree see *Arch. Camb.*, 1874, p. 25. For his work see BM Add. MSS. 9864-5; Peniarth MSS. 144-5; N.L.W. MS. 1666B (Llyfr Silin). See also Dwnn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. xxx; Vol. II, pp. 67, 321.

He married Diana Lloyd, daughter of John Lloyd of Gellygelynen near Fishguard, by Martha Wogan of Wiston. They had six daughters, one of whom, Anne, was the grandmother of Richard Fenton. He was a stay-at-home squire, a magistrate, and a very careful agriculturist, and Fenton in his *Historical Tour* has much to say of his skill in husbandry. His interests in genealogies and local antiquities were well known, and he was one of the correspondents of Dr. Gibson and Edward Lluyd. He had seen many, and actually possessed some, of the manuscripts of George Owen of Henllys, and he also wrote pedigrees of Pembrokeshire families, to which he added many anecdotes of a piquant nature. Most of his manuscripts came to Fenton's hands, who used some of their contents in his engaging books. However, Fenton states that he has omitted many of his great-grandfather's comments on his brother-squires as being rather too personal a nature for publication, even a hundred years after they had been written. Fenton could not resist shelving them all, and a few rather curious items from them have appeared in his printed works.

Note should also be made of Joseph Lord of Carmarthen (will proved 1743), the fourth son of the Revd. Mathew Lord, vicar of Marloes and St. Ishmaels, Pembs. Joseph Lord was a good genealogist and was responsible for making some fine emblazoned pedigree rolls for West Wales gentry, and some of them, like the pedigree of the Tregyb family, have survived.<sup>1</sup>

Another genealogist from the Carmarthen district was Benjamin Simon of Abergwili. Nothing is known of his family or of his schooling, and it would appear that he was a self-educated man. Some of his work has survived. Cardiff MS. 62, a volume of pedigrees, was transcribed by him in 1754 from a manuscript written in 1579: also Aberdare MS. 1 (*Tlysau'r Beirdd*) and Aberdare MS. 2, which is a transcript of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems made by Simon in 1754. The Cwrtmawr MS. 20 is partly in his hand, and contains indices to three of his manuscripts: "Hen Lyfr Carpiok B. Simon," "Llyfr Dauliw Ben: Simon," and "Llyfr y Brut Ben Simon." Although a humble and almost anonymous writer, his works assure him a worthy place in the long roll of Welsh genealogists.

The Church also made its contribution to the study. Nicholas Owen (1752-1811), a rector in Carnarvonshire, was the author of a very fine work containing valuable heraldic information, entitled *British Remains* (1777), and several other historical works. The Revd. Eliezer Williams (1754-1820) eldest son of Peter Williams of Llandeuaelog, Carmarthenshire, became a notable historical writer and genealogist, and was employed by the Earl of Galloway in

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Lord's great grandson, John, adopted the surname Owen, his mother being Corbetta Owen of Orielson, and was created a baronet in 1813. He was the subject of much clumsy satire at the time, and was said to be the descendant of "a house painter." Actually, he was descended from a heraldic painter, and a very good one at that. For his work as a surveyor see *Menevia Sacra*, and B. Willis *St. Davids*.

producing genealogical data which were responsible for establishing the Earl's claim to an English peerage.<sup>1</sup> The *History of Breconshire* by the Revd. Theophilus Jones (1758–1812) shows that he was a competent genealogist and armorist, although he relied mainly on the manuscripts of Hugh Thomas and William Lewes in those matters. The Revd. Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain) (1761–1849) is mainly remembered for his important report on the state of agriculture in Wales, and it is sometimes forgotten that he was also a bard and a skilful genealogist. Many of his surviving manuscripts show that he had given much time and labour to Welsh pedigrees and armory.<sup>2</sup>

One wishes that more were known of the clerk in Holy Orders who wrote a *History of the Mansell Family* in 1754.<sup>3</sup> We know that his initials were J W (it is said that they stand for John Walters) and that he was a classical scholar as well as being knowledgeable in contemporary literature. He wrote an excellent introduction to this *History*, and in it he states that he is a Welshman. He condemned spurious genealogies and appears to have possessed an acute critical mind. His remarks on Welsh surnames are extremely apposite, and his treatment of them by a comparative method is worthy of study even in these days. He stated that the writing of family histories and the registering of pedigrees had become the fashion "but of late years." Although not fashionable perhaps, the family history was known in Wales in the late sixteenth century, as Sir John Wynn's work testifies.

William Davies of Cringell, near Neath (1756–1823), was a classical scholar, historian, and genealogist of this period.<sup>4</sup> To Richard Llwyd "Bard of Snowdon" (1752–1835) we are indebted for "Beaumaris Bay" with its wealth of genealogical data.<sup>5</sup> Sylvanus Jones (1724–1810), a notable antiquary, born at Nantyrmenyn in Cardiganshire, transcribed, in 1760, one of the Llwynderw manuscripts entitled, "The Pedigrees of all the Gentry in the Counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke," a transcription which proved to be of considerable assistance to Meyrick when writing his *Cardiganshire*. The names of Owen Jones ("Owen Myfyr") (1741–1814), Dr. William Owen Pughe (1759–1835), and Iolo Morgannwg (1746–1826) should not be omitted, and in their works, published and manuscript, is found a great deal of important genealogical material. However, until further research has been made on the works of that industrious and able trio, a final estimate of the value of their contribution cannot be formed.

<sup>1</sup> See *D.N.B.* and also *The English Works of the Revd. Eliezer Williams, M.A.*, by his son St. George Armstrong Williams, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> For some of his genealogical works see N.L.W. MSS. 1706B, 1711B, 1723D, 1738–9B, 1776E, 1781D, 1784B, 1801C, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Egerton MS. 2439.

<sup>4</sup> See *Journal of Welsh Bibliographical Society*, Vol. II, July, 1916; N.L.W. MSS. 6610E, ~~1011E~~, 6614E, 6615F, etc.

<sup>5</sup> For his MSS. see N.L.W. 1561B, 1562C, 1563B, etc.

6611E



The landed gentry contributed much to the wave of antiquarian learning that swept Wales during this century. Some of them contributed directly by publishing interesting books on the subjects that interested them most, while others extended a benevolent patronage to the arts. Among the patrons were Chancellor Edward Wynne of Bodewryd in Anglesey, and Sir Charles Morgan of Tredegar in South Wales. Sir Charles (1760–1847) was a great figure, known to all as “Ivor Hael,” a name he truly justified by his liberal patronage to all good works and especially to Welsh literature. The name of Paul Panton (1730–97) of Plas Gwyn, Anglesey, was also found among those patrons of the traditional Welsh studies, and apart from being a competent antiquary himself he was also a collector of an important library of Welsh manuscripts. Another name that will always be associated with antiquaries and genealogists of this period is that of Thomas Pennant of Downing (1726–98), whose published works earned him fame far beyond the hills of his native Wales.

In South Wales Sir Erasmus and Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle were also active in the antiquarian field, and their very detailed diaries are of the greatest archaeological and genealogical value. Bulkeley Philipps, youngest son of “the good Sir John” of Picton Castle, was the author of a fine manuscript history of his family and a great student of heraldry. But the pride of South Wales was Richard Fenton of Glynymel near Fishguard (1746–1821), whose life and works deserve more than a passing mention. He was descended from a good English family that had settled in Pembrokeshire in the previous century, and by the distaff he was connected with some of the oldest families in West Wales. Indeed he became as Welsh as his *bonheddig* ancestors, and both spoke and wrote good Welsh. He became a barrister, and when he lived at London counted Dr. Johnson, Garrick, and Goldsmith among his friends. Fenton was a man of good address and polished manners, which rendered him universally popular. He had a keen sense of humour and a pretty wit which was as effective on circuit as it was entertaining over the walnuts and the wine. He eventually retired to Glynymel, and when he died in 1821 he was laid to rest in the churchyard of Manarnawen, where, over a hundred years before, his great grandfather, John Lewis the antiquary, had been carried by a sorrowing tenantry. Fenton wrote several books, but those that established his place as an antiquary and genealogist were *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy* (1807) and *A Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire* (1811). His *Tours in Wales*, 1804–13, were published in 1917 by this Honourable Society. The first two were written in Fenton’s elegant style, while the third was obviously a draft which he would undoubtedly have revised had he himself undertaken its publication. These works have often been criticized, but it must be remembered that they are the tours of a polished gentleman in his native land, and not meant as serious works requiring careful documentation.

From them we can see that he possessed a keen and observant eye, and if some of his theories and methods are not in strict accordance with the standards of modern research, we must remember that Fenton was the product of his age and must be judged by the standards of that age. He has preserved some interesting and amusing pictures of Welsh life and genealogical customs, and several items of archaeological value which would otherwise have been lost for ever. His contributions to the *Cambrian Register* for 1795 and 1796 are not to be overlooked, and he was responsible for publishing several manuscripts written by George Owen, in those volumes, and had expressed his intention of publishing more.

In his *Tour in Quest of Genealogy* (1807) Fenton tells us of his amusing encounter with what he calls a "Cherokee squire" at Tanybwllch in North Wales. Fenton has written at length of this experience which shows how the old traditional ways had survived in that part of the Principality. This "mountain squire," as he also described him, "carried a hunting pole as tall as himself, was followed by half a dozen terriers, and in his dress gave us a specimen of the old school: a blue velvet coat, a scarlet waistcoat, laced with gold, and gold-laced hat triple-cocked." During the conversation they touched upon genealogy, whereupon "the squire having much to boast of in that way, with a voice loud enough for a view halloo, addressed us: 'Gentlemen, I have not yet given you my pedigree, which I have by heart; and though it is indebted to a thousand *Aps* for stringing it together, I don't think I should lose a link in the chain; a nun is not more perfect in the tale of her beads, so habituated have I been from my first lisp to call the roll over; for the first exercise my tongue and memory were put to was to enumerate my ancestors from the post-captain in the ark to his latest in Merionethshire, and my father's hounds by their names'." Despite the exaggerated and bantering tone of these remarks, one feels that it would have been singularly unwise to have spoken lightly of the squire's *aps* after the *cwrrw* had been passed around a few times.

In his native Pembrokeshire, Fenton found the same traits. At Steynton church he was shown the resting place of Sir Adam de Stanton, knight, and also a plain stone reputed to be the monument of a De Hwlffordd who had married a Stanton in the thirteenth century. "Besides I was informed that, about seventy years ago, there was a pauper of that name on the parish, and notwithstanding his poverty, piqued himself on his lineage '*nisi cum re vilior algâ*'." At Haverfordwest, Fenton found that the bend sinister was no bar to pride of ancestry. A domestic servant who was in the household of a well-known county family found herself in that condition which is honourable only in a married woman. The child grew up to manhood, and became a shopkeeper at Haverfordwest where he was known by the abbreviated name of his putative father. Fenton found him to be a most remarkable character, and wrote: "...

I was directed to a shopkeeper living at the bottom of the street opening on the south side of St. Mary's church, whose knowledge in genealogy I was led to believe was so extensive as to encourage me to call upon him, on a pretence of wanting some article from his shop; but I found his whole knowledge was confined to his own pedigree, and the coat of the ancient and honourable house he traced to; which, by the by, he bore with a *baton sinistre*. I however did not think the half hour I passed with him ill-employed, as it gave me an opportunity of seeing a very original character, with a sort of priggish formality about him, and a face that never relaxes into a smile: as mad about his pedigree as Don Quixote was about chivalry, and never sells a pennyworth of tape without giving you a string of genealogy into the bargain. Besides he was deeply tinctured with methodism, which mixing with his genealogical mania, produced a strange confusion."

Fenton in his printed works refers to large numbers of manuscript collections which he had seen and some of which he used. In his *Pembrokeshire Tour* he refers to the manuscripts he had consulted at Slebech, Stackpole, St. Davids, Wynnstay, the Bodleian, and Cotton libraries, and the manuscripts of Edward Lhuyd, Charles Greville, and he quoted much from the researches of Lewis Morris. He quotes extensively from the manuscripts of George Owen, and Dr. Charles has recently drawn attention to Fenton's indebtedness to the squire of Henllys in *The Journal of the National Library of Wales*, for Winter, 1948. In his *Tours in Wales* (1804-13) Fenton draws attention to the Alltyrodyn MSS. (p. 8), Derwydd MSS. (p. 57), Hengwrt MSS. (p. 94), Wynnstay MSS. (p. 116), Paul Panton's MSS. (p. 166), the MSS. of Dr. Thomas Wiliems (p. 176), the Bodyscallen MSS. (p. 200), Gloddaeth MSS. (pp. 200, 244), Penrhyn MSS. (p. 241), Llanrug MSS. (p. 247), and the MSS. of David Thomas the bard (p. 251).

Another squire who contributed to Welsh genealogical activity at the end of this century was Philip Yorke of Erthig (1743-1804), author of *The Royal Tribes* (1799). Although this book did not contribute anything new or authentic to the history of these families, and does not bear the impress of any deep and original research, it nevertheless shows the work of an orderly mind in an attempt to fathom the difficulties that attend those genealogies. He had contemplated bringing out a similar work on the fifteen tribes, and it is a pity that he did not live long enough to do so. To this list we also add the names of Morgan Llewelyn of Neath (*ob.* 1777 or 1778) and Thomas Truman of Pant-y-Lliwydd (*ob.* 1786), whose histories have been ably drawn by Professor G. J. Williams in his recent book.

This review would not be complete without reference to Colonel Thomas Johnes of Hafod, Cardiganshire, whose career touches Welsh national life at so many points. This landowner of ancient native stock was a well-known collector of Welsh manuscripts, and



his library included a large number written by Edward Lhuyd. It is said that he possessed some 180 volumes of Welsh manuscripts in his library which was the Mecca of antiquaries and literary men. Unfortunately about 100 of these were destroyed in the great fire that consumed the stately home of Hafod in 1807.

As we end our review of this century, I feel that the name of the sole lady-genealogist who contributed to our records, must be included. We do this from no feelings of gallantry or compliment, for Margaret Davies of Coedcaedu has certainly earned a respectful place in the long gallery of Welsh genealogists. Margaret Davies was active in the second quarter of the century, and the Cardiff MS. 64, a large volume of 793 pages, was written by her. This contains pedigrees of various families, the familiar fifteen tribes, and also transcripts of the poems of most of the fifteenth-sixteenth century bards. Her work is represented in the National Library in the genealogical volume N.L.W. MS. 5241C, which contains genealogical notes and tabular pedigrees of Cardiganshire and other families.

#### VI. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The nineteenth century saw a further re-distribution of property and a re-adjustment of values. It opened with the triumph of England over a continental dictator, it saw the widening of the franchise, and the transition of Britain from a colony-owning country into an empire of power, wealth, and magnificence. It widened all horizons. The Englishman looked from his village green and beheld the palms of Hyderabad and the fir-trees of Manitoba, while the Welshman from his native hills looked to the sheep farms of Toowoomba and the pampas of Patagonia. The development of industry and the invention of mechanical equipment produced great wealth at home and stimulated trade abroad. The promise of the Industrial Revolution of the previous century now bore a rich harvest. The rule of the great families was over, and the Whig and Tory gave way to Liberal and Conservative. Education became universal, although it is doubtful whether the people generally became more educated.

The tendency to larger estates was more marked than ever in England, but on the whole Wales continued to remain a land of many small estates. The survival of the parish squire was a tribute to the vigorous staying qualities of the old Welsh families. It is true that many large estates did exist in Wales, like the great Wynne and Penrhyn territories in the North, and Philipps of Picton, Cawdor, and Tredegar estates in the South. Many new families were rising as a result of successful industrial ventures, especially in South Wales, and they acquired great estates by purchase. Yet despite this tendency the Freeholders Books remained pretty lengthy, and the Royal Commission on Land at the end of the century showed that the Welsh attachment to land as a survival of

tribal days was undiminished. The data gathered by the commission are a most valuable contribution to the economic and social history of Wales, and the remarks on the tendencies of the nineteenth century are most illuminating. The Commissioners observed: "We are struck not only by the permanence of these organisations but by the fact that in some cases estates have remained in the hands of the same families (i.e. being transferred only on death or marriage) as continually growing aggregates of lands for hundreds of years, and in many for several generations. We mention this fact because there is a tendency, not supported by our observation or the evidence, to exaggerate the extent to which capitalists of commercial or industrial extraction have become estate owners." This is still strikingly exemplified in Pembrokeshire, and the following estates owned by the same families (some through the distaff it is true) since the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, are still (1948) in the hands of the descendants of the original owners: Picton Castle (Philipps), Holyland (Adams), Llwyngwair (Bowen), Henllan (Lewis), Ridgeway (Foley-Philipps), and Tregwynt (Harries). A large number of other estates (some by distaff) held since the Tudor period or shortly afterwards, are also to be noticed: Moat (Scourfield), Scolton (Higgon), Bush (Meyrick), Cressely (Allen), Lawrenny (Lort-Phillips), Pentre (Saunders-Davies) and Rosemoor (Summers). That the majority of Welsh estates were small is shown by the table of returns extracted from the House of Commons Returns (No. 335, 1876), and its reproduction here is justified:—

THE NUMBER OF ESTATES OF 500 ACRES AND UPWARDS IN WALES IN 1876.

NAME OF COUNTY	NUMBER OF PERSONS OWNING						Total
	500 to 1,000 acres	1,000 to 2,000 acres	2,000 to 5,000 acres	5,000 to 10,000 acres	10,000 to 20,000 acres	20,000 to 50,000 acres	
Anglesey ..	19	9	8	5	2	—	43
Brecon ..	48	26	30	5	—	1	110
Cardigan ..	48	30	24	3	1	3	109
Carmarthen	88	50	26	9	1	1	175
Carnarvon	27	18	8	6	1	4	64
Denbigh ..	51	36	19	8	1	1	116
Flint ..	22	12	11	3	—	—	48
Glamorgan	52	42	24	12	1	3	134
Merioneth	51	33	17	5	4	1	111
Montgomery	64	32	25	2	1	2	126
Pembroke	49	37	27	6	3	—	122
Radnor ..	34	13	14	5	1	—	67
Monmouth	40	17	15	1	1	2	76
Total ..	593	355	248	70	17	18	1,301

On the other hand, the number of the small working freeholders decreased, due mainly to the agricultural depression that existed from 1815 to about 1850. The gentry were able to weather this storm, owing to the fact that the majority had invested money in industrial concerns (especially coal-mines) which continued to flourish, and thus compensated for any difficulties that were experienced in obtaining a return on their farms. The eggs of the working freeholders, however, were generally in one basket, although several of them invested their money in coastal vessels, quarries and mines, but this was done on a minor scale only.

Another feature (particularly of my native county, Pembrokeshire) is the continuity of tenants and leaseholders on the same estates. In a small area in Dewsland Hundred there are several examples of tenant farmers (many of whom have, within the last fifty years, bought their farms) who have held the same farms for centuries (like some of the landlords, some were by distaff descent), e.g. Harries of Trenichol (1650, possibly earlier), Griffith of Rickeston (c. 1740), Gwyther of Brawdy (1798), Francis of New Inn (1740), Morris of Castle Villa (1660), Harries of Meardy (1800), Griffith of Pointz Castle (1740), John of Waun Barry (1700), Owen of Bramble (1740), and several others. These, in common with the landowners, showed a deep sentimental attachment to their homes, often humble enough, and were proud of their long associations with the farms where they were born. I was once talking to an old farm labourer near Middle Mill, Solva, whose family had been in the same cottage for many generations. While discussing the long association of his forebears with the cottage, he turned to me and with a modest pride said: "Yr ynni wedi bod ma eriôd, Mr. Jones." These long tenures by yearly tenancies or freehold, are not peculiar to Pembrokeshire, but are found throughout Wales. I have dealt at some length with this matter for it is very intimately bound up with genealogy, and it is only by appreciating this economic influence that one can understand why a Welshman (I speak of the rural kind) is proud of his family, not necessarily for what it has achieved, but often purely for its long continuance in one locality. Whether there is any virtue in this is not a matter which I am prepared to discuss, but it is an attitude that cannot be ignored. It is not so strong to-day owing to the attraction of towns and industries which have more to offer materially than rural economy, thereby leading to a depopulation of the countryside. However, the attraction of the ancestral hearth is far from being dead.

Certain literary productions during this period proved a great stimulant to genealogy. These were the works of Sir Walter Scott which clothed the bones of a dead past with a romance that captured all hearts. This led to great genealogical, heraldic, and antiquarian activity. Tales of Crusaders were brought into association with family histories, suits of armour were brought out from store lofts and burnished, while castellated walls and "medieval" towers were



added to houses overnight. On top of this came Burke's *Landed Gentry*, which was an added stimulant. In Wales, the publication of the *Myvyrian Archaeology* (1801-), *The Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi* (1838), and Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations* (1846), brought the delights of genealogy to a wider public, while the activities of Sir Thomas Phillipps and Mr. W. W. E. Wynne led to a greater interest being taken in these matters. Efforts were also being made to treat genealogy as a historical science, and in England the name of J. G. Nichols (*Herald and Genealogist*), Joseph Foster, Dr. J. H. Round, Oswald Barron, Sir George Sitwell, Bart., and several others, stand for historical genealogy as against the legendary and even fictitious pedigrees that made their appearance during Queen Victoria's reign.

It was the great age of the family history, and the muniments of the county families are full of rolls, and narrative histories written in this century. Some of these family histories show a considerable amount of sound research and are written in great detail, and a number contain addresses to the children by the fathers who were generally the authors. The following example is taken from the pedigree book of the Fortunes of Leweston, Pembrokeshire, written in 1810, and is typical of these forewords:—

... I have, at the earnest Solicitation of my wife and children, taken out the following account of my family for their satisfaction and trust that my children, from their knowledge, that their long line of Ancestors were men remarkable for their integrity, wisdom, and dignity of Character, will feel, that it is incumbent on them, so to improve their understandings, exert their abilities, and guard their conduct thro' life: as that they and their children's children, may be equally respectable as well as useful, and *then only* will they feel that conscious pride, which will ever be the consequence of their conviction, that by the integrity of their hearts, and the uprightness of their lives, they are worthy of being descended from the line of ancestors from whence they sprang.

These laudable sentiments are often found in many such family manuscript histories written during this century, and the heads of Victorian houses felt, like Napoleon, that they were indeed ancestors as well as descendants.

English travellers continued to remark on the Welsh predilection for genealogy. Barber, in his *Tour* (1803), wrote: "An error more harmless in its operation arises from his [the Welshman] admiration of illustrious ancestry: which often resolves itself into an association of personal importance, that unbiassed individuals are not inclined to allow. These asperities are wearing away under the attrition of a more extended and enlightened intercourse." "A more extended and enlightened intercourse" forsooth! I do not know whether Barber lived to see the publication of Burke's *Landed Gentry* and *Peerage*. Had he done so he would have seen an "admiration of illustrious ancestry" and the production of a fantastic genealogical riot among his countrymen, which would have given him cause to hold up his hands in terror. For not even the maddest Welsh

pedigree can produce anything to compare with some of the statements that appeared in the pages of those curious volumes. These were the "dog days" of English genealogy.

Although most of the genealogical associations of this century are connected with the landed gentry and wealthy captains of industry, there is evidence that the rural working population of Wales also took an interest in such matters. The industry of Sir John Rhys has preserved for us a remarkable picture of Welsh life showing that the nineteenth century Welsh farmer and cottager had inherited to the full those genealogical passions which Giraldus had described so vividly in the twelfth century. Sir John in his valuable work *Celtic Folklore* (1901) has preserved the homely letters of a William Jones of Llangollen (*vivens* 1900), an intelligent student and writer on the folklore of the Beddgelert district. William Jones wrote to Sir John as follows :—<sup>1</sup>

As an example of the old-fashioned habits of the people of Beddgelert in my early days, I may mention the way in which wives and children used to be named. The custom was that the wife never took her husband's family name, but retained the one she had as a spinster. Thus my grandmother on my mother's side was called Ellen Hughes, daughter of Hugh Williams, of Gwastad Annas. The name of her husband, my grandfather, was William Prichard, son to Richard William, of the Efail Newydd. The name of their eldest son, my uncle (brother to my mother) was Hugh Hughes, and the second son's name was Richard Williams. The mother had the privilege of naming her first-born after her own family, in case it was a boy ; but if it happened to be a girl, she took her name from the father's family, for which reason my mother's maiden name was Catherine Williams. This remained her name to the day of her death : and the old people of Beddgelert persisted in calling me, so long as I was at home, William Prichard, after my grandfather, as I was my mother's eldest child.

He then states that his ancestors were all from the parishes of Beddgelert and Dolwyddelen, and that there was much intermarrying between the parishioners. He says :—

Many of my ancestors seem to have been very fond of stories, poetry, and singing, and I have been told that some of them were very skilled in these things. So also, in the case of my parents, the memory of the past had a great charm for them on both sides : and when the relatives from Dolwyddelan and Beddgelert met in either parish, there used to be no end to the recounting of pedigrees and the repeating of tales for the best. By listening to them, I had been filled with desire to become an adept in pedigrees and legends. My parents used to let me go every evening to the house of my grandfather, William ab Rhisiart, the clerk, to listen to tales, and to hear edifying books read. My grandfather was a reader without his rival, and he used to beat the parson hollow. Many people used to meet at Pen y Bont in the evenings to converse together, and the stories of some of them were now and then exceedingly eloquent. Of course I listened with eager ears and open mouth, in order, if I heard anything new, to be able to repeat it to my mother. She, unwilling to let herself be beaten, would probably relate another like it, which she had heard from her mother, her grandmother, or her old aunt of Gwastad Annas, who was a fairly good verse-wright of the homely kind. Then

<sup>1</sup> *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 75-80.

my father, if he did not happen to be busy with his music-book, would also give us a tale which he had heard from his grandmother or grandfather, the old John Jones, of Ty'n Llyn Dolwyddelen, or somebody else would do so. That is one source from which I got my knowledge of folk-lore: but this ceased when we moved from Beddgelert in the year 1841. My grandfather died in 1844, aged seventy-eight.

He also named the local blacksmith's shop as a venue for the saga-men.

But the chief story-teller of his time at Beddgelert [Mr. Jones goes on to say] was Twm Ifan Siams (pronounced Siams or Shâms), brother, I believe, to Dafydd Sion Siams, of the Penrhyn who was a bard and pedigree man. Twm lived at Nanmor, but I know not what his vocation was; his relatives, however, were small farmers, carpenters, and masons. It is not improbable that he was also an artisan, as he was conversant with numbers, magnitude, and letters, and left behind him a volume forming a pedigree book known at Nanmor as the *Barcud Mawr*, or "Great Kite," as Gruffudd Rhisiart told me. The latter had been reading it many a time in order to know the origin of somebody or other. All I can remember of this character is that he was very old—over 90—and that he went from house to house in his old age to relate tales and recount pedigrees: great was the welcome he had from everybody everywhere. I remember also that he was small of stature, nimble, witty, exceedingly amusing, and always ready with his say on every subject. He was in the habit of calling on my grandfather in his rambles, and very cordial was the reception which my parents always gave him on account of his tales and his knowledge of pedigrees. . . . I believe Twm died in the year 1835-6, aged about ninety-five.

Reading this fascinating letter, one feels that the Golden Age of Guttun Owain and Hiraethog never really died away in some parts of rural Wales. I would have given much to have had a glimpse at the folios of the *Barcud Mawr*, but much more to have had the privilege of knowing those fine old genealogical Celts, Twm Ifan Siams and William Jones. They were indeed the heirs of the ages, not of estates and golden guineas, but of a nobler and finer wealth—the traditions of the *uchelwyr* and the *arghwyddi*. May they rest in peace.

The custom of visiting each other's homes was also a Pembrokeshire custom in the days of my youth. In those days, newspapers came infrequently to the lonely farms, and when they came to many country houses they were a day or more late. Broadcasting was still some time off. Conversation was confined to a few subjects—religion, farming, singing, politics, family anecdotes and relationships, and glowing tales of the "good old days." The same condition was also found in Scotland, and Sinclair says of Kiltarn in Ross and Cromarty: "In former times, when families, owing to distance and other circumstances, held little intercourse with each other through the day, numbers were in the habit of assembling together in the evening in one house, and spending the time in relating the tales of wonder which had been handed down to them by tradition."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV, p. 323; see also Inverness-shire, XIV, p. 168; Durness in Sutherlandshire, XV, p. 95.



This is still a custom in the Hebrides.<sup>1</sup> The same custom was not unknown in rural England, and readers would do well to turn to *Old Country Life* (1892) by S. Baring Gould, and particularly note those two chapters entitled "The Village Musician" and "The Village Bard."

Most of the practitioners of genealogy and heraldry in the nineteenth century were educated men of outstanding ability. Several were not Welshmen by birth or breeding, and looking at our native traditions from the outside, perhaps saw more than did the native-born. A critical attitude, refreshing and worthy, was adopted, and an appeal was made to original records, deeds, and documents, to test the authenticity of the pedigrees. We have noted that this critical study was not new to Welsh genealogy, but as records were becoming more readily available the trend was more obvious in this century than it had been in the past. The names of some of the most leading practitioners in genealogical fields are given below, but there were also many others whose works, less polished and more parochial perhaps, were no less worthy.

The name of Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848) is mainly remembered for his *Cardiganshire* and his editorship of Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations*. He was a descendant of the great Welsh house of Meyrick which traced to Bodorgan in Anglesey, and his works had a profound influence on Welsh genealogical thought. The *County Families* (1872) of Dr. Thomas Nicholas (1816-79), a native of Brawdy and one of the forgotten pioneers of the Welsh University, although uncritical and often inaccurate as to detail, has the merit of having placed on permanent record many matters that would have been lost to later generations. The name of the great squire of Peniarth, "one of the olden kind," will be venerated as long as Welshmen retain their love for their traditional poetry and antiquities. For W. W. E. Wynne (1801-80), apart from contributing much to genealogical studies himself, was responsible for the preservation of a fair library of Welsh manuscripts to whose value I have referred in my remarks on Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt.<sup>2</sup> Edward Protheroe, M.P. for Evesham, although more of a collector than an author, will be remembered for preserving the works of George William Griffith, David Edwardes, and William Lewes. Other names come to mind like those of G. T. O. Bridgeman, a descendant of Glyndwr's stock and author of that admirable work *The Princes of South Wales* (1888); the Revd. James Allen of

<sup>1</sup> See *Sunday Times*, 6th July, 1947, for an account of James Mackinnon the last of the story-tellers in the Isle of Barra in the Outer Hebrides; and *Sunday Express*, 30th May, 1948, for an account of Angus McMillan the story-teller of the island of Benbecula in the Outer Hebrides. Both these men told their sagas in the Gaelic.

<sup>2</sup> For Mr. Wynne's *obit.* see *Arch. Camb.*, 1880, p. 229. His important collection of manuscripts are now in the National Library.

St. Davids, whose work on Pembrokeshire sheriffs was published by his nephew Egerton Allen in 1900 ; C. O. S. Morgan of Tredegar (1803-88), of Ifor Hael's stock ; the Revd. John Jenkins of Ceri (1770-1829), a son of Cilbronnau, of the house of Elystan ; and the names of Revd. W. V. Lloyd, Revd. J. Y. W. Lloyd (1817-87) of *Powys Fadog* fame, H. J. F. Vaughan, Pavin Phillips of Pembrokeshire, and at the end of the century that of Alcwyn C. Evans, figure prominently in our genealogical annals. With these writers we number Miss Angharad Llwyd (1780-1866), a worthy daughter of a worthy father, the Revd. John Lloyd, whose *Caerwys MSS.* and other papers in our National Library are monuments to the skill and industry of both father and daughter. An outstanding figure was G. T. Clark of Talygarn (1809-98), whose *Limbus Patrum* is a tribute to his industry and whose *Glamorgan Charters* is a tribute to his scholarship. Mr. William Floyd (c. 1810-c. 1898) was a remarkable man, painstaking, accurate, who worked entirely from primary evidence, and his manuscripts in the National Library are a mine of valuable and authentic information for genealogists and students of Welsh medieval tenures. Edward Griffith of Springfield, Dolgelley (1832-1918), also made valuable genealogical researches in North Wales. Among genealogists whose works were of a more limited nature were Joseph Joseph, F.S.A., of Brecon, Edward Laws of Tenby (ob. 1913), Illtyd Nicholl of Llanmaes, J. M. Traherne (1788-1860) of Coedriglan, W. G. Stedman Thomas of Carmarthen (b. 1822), and the Revd. Hubert Francis Jones (1833-95), former owner of the Brawdy estate, Pembrokeshire, whose manuscripts are in my possession. Many other names might be added, but considerations of space limit their enumeration. It is important to bear in mind that the two great learned journals of Wales, *Y Cymmrodor* and *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, made their appearance towards the middle of the century, and their pages became a forum for genealogists and antiquaries.

## VII. THE PRESENT CENTURY.

It is hardly necessary for me to dwell in any detail upon the economic influences that have been brought to bear upon social life and traditional values in this disturbed century. The first world war dealt a hard blow to national economy, and the second war with its consequences has well-nigh completed the break-up of the landed estates of England and Wales, and created an outlook altogether alien to the old ways of the people of these islands. This century has also seen a great fluctuation of the population, and the ancient stability that marked the Welsh economic and social life, is no more. This bodes ill for the genealogical and heraldic studies of Wales, and were it not for one institution these studies would inevitably have been swept along with the current of innovation and change. That institution is the University of Wales.

Despite what has occurred in the social and economic structure, this century has fortunately seen the flowering of the Welsh University. It is to this great institution that we owe the preservation of the Welsh spirit and tradition. It has become the guardian of our national heritage—a princely heritage that traces its line to the *cywyddau* of Dafydd ap Gwilym, to the lays of the *Cynfeirdd*, and to the proud recital of Caractacus at Rome. From this Alma Mater have come scholars who have spared no pains to make available for all the bygone literature of our fathers that was once reserved for the few. The names of these eminent professors and doctors, lecturers and research workers, are too well known to need any enumeration here. The ancient literature and histories have been studied and analysed, and with the aid of a sound technique and critical methods we are daily learning to apprise them at their proper values. The establishment of the National Library at Aberystwyth and the National Museum at Cardiff, is an additional safeguard to the Welsh tradition, and those two treasure-houses of Wales are as important to our character as the strong-rooms of Threadneedle Street are to our economy. To these I may add the publications of this Honourable Society and the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, whose roots go back to an earlier century, and lusty newcomers like the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* and the many county Transactions which are sure shields of our local tradition. Nor must the National Eisteddfod be omitted from this regiment of stalwarts, and if more popular and catholic in nature, has enabled the *gwerin* to partake of the choice meats of our cultural heritage. One of the results of the flowering of these vigorous institutions is that Welsh genealogy has been given a new lease of life.

The genealogical studies of this century differ considerably from those of bygone days. The old method of accepting pedigrees for the sake of their length rather than for their accuracy has passed. The efforts and triumphs of such genealogists as Sir Joseph Bradney and Mr. Francis Green show the harvest that awaits to be gathered by those who apply first principles to genealogical research. The number of Welsh genealogists of to-day is small, but the quality of the work is a recompense for that. Good examples of modern scientific research into pedigrees are found in the essays of Professor G. P. Jones, M.A., Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., and Mr. T. Allen Glenn. There is more material available now, and the calendars of the P.R.O. and the N.L.W. have laid low many a hoary legend and vindicated many others. The pages of our learned journals are hospitably placed at our disposal, and the nation is able to reap the harvest of those individuals who pore over the faded parchments and dusty archives of private muniment room and public institution. Yet it still remains isolated effort, and until a Welsh genealogical society is formed to direct these energies, to encourage and assist



the research workers, many a genealogical and heraldic treasure must remain unknown to but a select few.

I have referred to the academic aspect of the Welsh genealogical studies of our own times. We now turn to see what relics of this ancient characteristic remain in the scattered farms and homes of rural Wales—for genealogy is not an urban plant. Instances of the lingering love of pedigrees and family pride are strikingly described in Mr. D. J. Williams' delightful book *Hen Wynebaw* (1934). Mr. Williams, himself a descendant of native *bonheddig* of a remote district of Carmarthenshire, describes a rural scene which seems to have changed little since the days of Howel Dda and Giraldus. In the chapter entitled "Y Tri Llwyth" are several references to the continuity of descent, which, as it is chronicled from first-hand knowledge, is important as a record. The author's grandfather came from a family which was said to have inhabited the ancient homestead of Llywele for some sixteen generations ("ac ef yn ôl traddodiad 'yr unfed âch ar bymtheg a aned ac a faged yn Llywele'"), and the family ramifications in the district remind us of the intermarriages that produced many a pretty tangle in our rural pedigrees, which, in the Middle Ages, enriched the coffers of the papacy. One of Mr. Williams' ancestors, William Sion of Llywele Mawr (*ob.* 1785), was a leader of religious life, and his death brought forth an elegy by Williams Pantycelyn in the same way as the death of Mareddydd ap Morgan ap Syr Dafydd Gam in the fifteenth century caused Lewis Glyn Cothi to tune the mournful lay. Mr. Williams shows how these families increased their importance and how their seed had reigned long over the distant farms of Llansawel parish. The district was populated by the three tribes, only distantly related, since each confined its matrimonial ventures to within its own tribal group ("Gan na bu'r tri chlan yn rhyw dueddol iawn i briodi â'i gilydd yr oedd priodas o fewn y llwyth yn beth digon cyffredin, a thrwy hynny barhau purdeb y rhywogaeth"). Justice cannot be fully accorded to this fascinating chapter by a few quotations, but when I read it I was forcibly reminded of Giraldus' words, and the similarity between the life of the ancient *bonheddig* and Mr. Williams' "Tri Llwyth" is most remarkable. Thus, it would appear that in the remote parts of Wales the tradition of the *bonheddig* is still virile—the life of the isolated farms, the pride of soil and long descent.

#### VIII. IN CONCLUSION.

From this general review of Welsh genealogy several main facts emerge, and although I have done little more than to refer to them, they deserve detailed analysis. In this essay my intention was to state the case of Welsh genealogy as an integral part of Welsh history and Welsh life. It will be a far abler pen than mine that

will do full justice to this important subject. It appears to me that the following points are noteworthy :—

1. That genealogy is an essential part of Welsh history, and must be considered as an aid to its understanding.
2. That it is an essential part of Welsh law and land-tenure.
3. That Welsh genealogical manuscripts form an essential part of Welsh literature.
4. That Welsh genealogy has had an influence on the formation and development of the Welsh character. Sir Maurice Powicke has written : "Welsh racial consciousness seems to be able to thrive apart from political form." There are several reasons for this, and I venture to suggest that Welsh pedigree pride is one of them.
5. That the tradition of Welsh genealogy is unbroken, and it is one of the few true Welsh characteristics that has survived to this day. It is possible to trace the growth of many Welsh pedigrees as they are found in our collections. Some, written by Guttun Owain and based on Harl. MS. 3589 and other medieval manuscripts, can be traced through Griffith Hiraethog, Lewis Dwnn, Robert Vaughan, David Edwardes, William Lewes, and others right down to our own days. Tracing the growth of some of these genealogical snowballs leads to some interesting discoveries.
6. That Welsh genealogy cannot be dismissed as useless lumber, and it cannot be ignored by historians or literateurs who propose to present an adequate and true picture of our national life. Neither can it be studied as a subject on its own ; as part of our heritage it cannot separate itself from the conditions that produced it.

It may be asked what advantage is there in possessing a pedigree, or in an academic study of genealogy ? I trust that in the foregoing pages I have indicated the practical value of genealogies in assisting biographical studies, social and economic history, and to a lesser degree with racial and ethnical surveys. But there is much more to it than that. A soldier who belongs to an old regiment with a fine tradition, the sailor who belongs to a navy that traces its line to the longboats of Alfred, will, it has been proved, serve all the better for those things, and in moments of stress will be strengthened by the unseen spirit of those ancient traditions. A man who is descended from a line of public-spirited and honourable men, be they humble farmers who have served on parish councils, shopkeepers who have served their chapels as deacons, or landed gentry who have served their country as magistrates and knights of the shire, will be unconsciously influenced by a silent pride in those progenitors and will want to emulate worthy forebears. The influence of the silent motto which can be added to the Ten Commandments, and the faded coat of arms above the hearth, the framed pedigree in the library, the rusty sword in the hall, and the

great clasped Bible on the coffer, may yet prove to be the salvation of a race when all seems lost.

Grawn gwyn ac aeron a gaid  
Ar bren fr o'r barwniaid  
Ysbys i dengys bob dyn  
O ba râdd y bo i wreiddyn.

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## APPENDIX A.

## THE GOLDEN GROVE BOOKS.

THROUGH the courtesy of the Chapter of the College of Arms I have been allowed access to the collection known as the Protheroe MSS. It consists of some fifty-one volumes, together with numerous fragments which, when finally arranged and bound, will bring the total to some sixty manuscript items. A study of these manuscripts clears up several important points in connection with the genealogical corpus known as the Golden Grove books. Before I pass on to a detailed exposition of the Protheroe MSS., a review of the publications of previous writers in relation to the Golden Grove books will be found useful.

In *Arch. Camb.* for 1898, the late Mr. Alan Stepney-Gulston of Derwydd drew attention to the Golden Grove books, which had been deposited in the Public Record Office on 4th May, 1870, by the Historical MSS. Commissioners, in whose care the owner, the then Earl Cawdor, had placed them. Mr. Stepney-Gulston was of the opinion that Hugh Thomas had been concerned in their compilation and he stated that their eighteenth century owner, John Vaughan of Golden Grove, loaned them to Theophilus Jones, who annotated them. After Theophilus' death on 15th January, 1812, the books were restored to Lord Cawdor, who was the heir of the said John Vaughan who had died in 1804. This note aroused the curiosity of Mr. J. Pym Yeatman, who considered the question of the Golden Grove MSS. in an article entitled "Welsh Records" in *Arch. Camb.* for 1900. Mr. Yeatman's essay was the first effort to establish the authorship of the Golden Grove books of pedigrees, and it will later be shown that his reasoning was extremely sound, and that he had actually placed his finger on the true origins of this remarkable genealogical collection. He stated that a letter in the Bodleian written by Edward Protheroe, junior, on 12th August, 1842, showed that William Lewes of Llwynderw had copied the pedigrees of David Edwardes and had arranged them on "a new method," where the families were placed under their respective "chieftains." He added that there were five (*recte* three) of Edwardes' volumes in the Bodleian, and, having discussed all the evidence then available to him, concludes thus: "Here is ample evidence to show a common origin between the Golden Grove Book and David Edwards: or, rather, that Edwards was the groundwork of the other, and that he made his books up from the older authorities, probably presented to him through William Lewes." Mr. Yeatman proceeded to suggest that the man who transcribed the pedigrees into the Golden Grove books was Evan Evans the poet, but he adds that there was no direct evidence of this.

This impelled the late Mr. Edward Owen to consider the matter in an essay entitled "The Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees" in



<sup>1</sup> A relation of the deputy-herald.

*Arch. Camb.* for 1903. Mr. Owen set out to "correct" certain "errors" in Mr. Yeatman's work, but unfortunately he added very considerably to the confusion. He was especially interested in the transcriber of the pedigrees, and dismissed (possibly rightly) Mr. Yeatman's suggestion that Evan Evans may have been the scribe. He suggested that the transcript was the work of one Emanuel Evans, but on a most flimsy hypothesis. Unfortunately he had accepted the bad error of the author of *Hanes Plwyfi Penboyr a Llangeler*, who, as I have shown, had confused William Lewes of Llwynderw and William Lewis of Llanlâs. He appreciated correctly that the Golden Grove books were transcripts of William Lewes' manuscripts. He stated that David Edwardes' MSS. "were speedily dispersed" after their owner's death, a number of the volumes going into the possession of Mr. Lloyd of Alltyrodin. "The Lewes collection," he said, "in its turn, was scattered far and wide in a few years after the death of its patient collector and compiler," which he believed was about 1755-60. It will be shown that there was little, if any, such dispersal, and that the collections were carefully kept together by a series of possessors who had appreciated their true value. Mr. Owen passed the following judgement: "As one who knows the Welsh pedigree manuscripts at the British Museum pretty thoroughly, I may be permitted the remark that I am inclined to rate *The Golden Grove Book* rather low, though decidedly higher than the pedigree collections of Hugh Thomas" (*Arch. Camb.*, 1903, p. 167). Those who have had occasion to check Mr. Owen's strange *Catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum* with the original manuscripts which he professes to describe, will be able to judge for themselves his suitability for making *ex cathedra* pronouncements on Welsh genealogy.

Mr. H. J. T. Wood discussed the Golden Grove books in an essay entitled "The Value of Welsh Pedigrees" in *The Ancestor* for 1903. This essay was the first attempt made to assess the accuracy and reliability of these pedigrees, and although Mr. Wood cannot be considered to have proved his point to the satisfaction of scholars like Dr. Round, or indeed to serious Welsh students, he nevertheless made one very shrewd observation when he wrote: "... the conclusion being that *The Golden Grove* is a copy and continuation of pedigrees drawn up in the seventeenth century." The next, and latest, contribution to the subject was made by the late Mr. John Davies, an amiable and modest gentleman who had the advantage of serving as an officer of the National Library of Wales. Mr. Davies discussed the question in an essay entitled "The Alltyrodyn Manuscripts" in *The Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, July, 1938, and from documents in the National Library was able to trace the fate (or fortune) of those manuscripts from the time of the Alltyrodyn sale in 1822, with a certain degree of accuracy, if not completeness.



Such then were the efforts made to establish the authorship and history of what are generally known as the Golden Grove books. In view of evidence that has recently come to light it is now possible to describe the history of these manuscripts from their first compilation to the present day.

The pedigree of the Protheroe MSS. (the originals from which the Golden Grove books were copied) can be traced with certainty to the late sixteenth century. Their font and origin is George Owen of Henllys, in Pembrokeshire, who wrote a large number of historical and genealogical manuscripts. Some of Owen's genealogies were originated by himself from public records, deeds, and other similar sources. Others he copied from the pedigree collections of Griffith Hiraethog, Lewis Dwnn, Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate, and other contemporary and near-contemporary genealogists. After his death in 1613, several of his manuscripts came to the hands of George William Griffith of Penybenglog and John Lloyd of Vairdre.

George William Griffith made several copies of Owen's pedigrees, which he extended from 1613 to the time of his death in 1653. He also retained in his possession certain of Owen's manuscripts, which he annotated and corrected. He also originated several pedigree manuscripts, and, as I have noted elsewhere, both he and George Owen were responsible, on a small scale it is true, for compiling pedigrees of all the descendants under their tribal "chieftains" (e.g. Gwynfardd and Cadifor) in "race-horse" pedigree form rather than the tabular. It is to be noted that the arrangement of Welsh families in *tabular form*, under tribal protonyms, had been essayed by the English herald Vincent as early as 1620, whose methods and works were most certainly known to the illegitimate son of Owen of Henllys, namely George Owen York Herald, who returned to live in his native Pembrokeshire about 1663, and where he died in 1665. On the death of George William Griffith in 1653, his manuscripts came to his son, William Griffith, who certainly annotated many of them and added later generations to them. As I have already indicated, William Griffith was known to David Edwardes of Rhydygorse, who had also very probably known the father, George William Griffith.

So far, we have traced certain manuscripts originated at Henllys to about the year 1654 when some of them were located at Penybenglog and Vairdre, where they had been used and added to by the two Griffiths and Lloyd respectively, who had also originated manuscripts of their own. In that year there were at least seven of George Owen's manuscripts, seven of George William Griffith's manuscripts, and perhaps two written by William Griffith, at Penybenglog house, while at the Cardiganshire house of Vairdre there were at least two that had been compiled by the antiquary of Henllys.

William Griffith of Penybenglog died without issue about 1677, and his brother who inherited the estate was not, as far as I know, interested in genealogies. William's widow, Frances, was a cousin to the Lewes' of Gellydywyll (who were related to the Llwynderw family), and aunt to George Lewes of Hendre in St. Dogmaels parish. George Lewes was evidently interested in pedigrees, and into his possession came at least one of the Penybenglog manuscripts, which later passed to William Lewes of Llwynderw, and which was labelled the "Hendre Book." It is important to notice this connection, and we shall return to it later.

We now turn to David Edwardes of Rhydygorse. Some twenty of his manuscripts, either wholly or largely in his hand, have survived. These remarkable documents show that he had made a most complete collection of North and South Wales pedigrees entirely in the tabular form under tribal protonyms. He had certainly used some of the Henllys-Penybenglog MSS. which he annotated, but whether he owned them I am unable to say. At any rate, he transcribed several *in toto*, and extended them from about 1670 to 1690. He paid strict attention to heraldry and transcribed a West Wales armorial which had been made by the Revd. George Owen Harry, a friend and neighbour of George Owen of Henllys, and added a vast number of arms himself. He also originated several volumes of heraldry, one of which is truly a tremendous work. His heraldic interests were not confined to Wales, but included Irish, Scots, English, and German, and other continental family arms. He also produced a collection of West Wales pedigrees in sentence form, which were later transcribed *in toto*, and added to, by William Lewes and Hugh Thomas, and which have been published under the name of Peniarth MS. 156 (*West Wales Historical Records*, Vols. 1 and 2), and Dale Castle MS. (privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill). The Llysnewydd MS. is another similar transcript made by William Lewes. Over twenty of Edwardes' MSS. are in the Protheroe collection in the College of Arms, and three are in the Bodleian Library. On his death in 1690 there can be no doubt that most, if not the bulk, of these manuscripts were acquired by William Lewes, while a few, which we shall encounter later, remained at Rhydygorse.

William Lewes of Llwynderw (1651-1722) now demands our attention. He is the most important figure in the story of these manuscripts, and is, in every way, the key man. We have already noted that he was related to Mrs. William Griffith of Penybenglog, George Lewes of Hendre, and that his wife was the daughter of old John Lloyd of Vairdre, who was a known collector of genealogical manuscripts and a genealogist himself. Into Lewes' hands, by some means, came the bulk of the Edwardes manuscript volumes, the Hendre and Hengae books of pedigrees, the Penybenglog manuscripts, as well as some other seventeenth century pedigree

books written in hands unknown to me at the present moment. With a most commendable industry, Lewes made his own copies of these (particularly those by Edwardes) and extended them down to 1722 when he died. He was actively engaged in these genealogical pursuits in the year of his death. That he did not obtain all of Edwardes' holograph works is clear from his reference to Edwardes' Radnorshire book of pedigrees concerning which he wrote "qui mihi desideratur." Lewes gave much help to his neighbours, relatives, and friends, with their pedigrees and armorial achievements. On 30th September, 1708, William Powell of Nanteos wrote to him for advice about the eleventh quarter that was to be included in the marshalled shield to be placed on his father's monument which had just arrived at Nanteos. On 7th August, 1712, Sir John Crow of Westmead, Carmarthenshire, wrote to thank him for sending him the Crow pedigree, and would like to see him personally but "it seems you are not very well." A short time afterwards, his nephew, John Lewes of Carmarthen, asked him to send to him the pedigree of the Laugharnes of Llandawke which his friend Hugh Lloyd was anxious to see. I have already dismissed his claim to have been the *originator* of a system, which he said, quite untruly and knowing it to be false, had not hitherto been tried by Edwardes or anyone else. He definitely cribbed the idea from Edwardes, whose works he had annotated and also transcribed most faithfully. To these, William Lewes added some twenty-five volumes of pedigrees, either wholly or partly in his hand. It is interesting to note that Edwardes' book of pedigrees which Lewes described in his letter to Hugh Thomas on 4th February, 1710-11 (Harl. MS. 7001, fo. 455), is now in the College of Arms, and as its last fifteen folios are in Hugh Thomas' hand it would appear that Thomas had later succeeded in borrowing it. It should be noted that Hugh Thomas' contribution to these manuscripts was practically nil, and only in one volume do we find traces of his work.

Thus by 1720 William Lewes had collected at Llwynderw a considerable library of manuscripts which had come from Henllys, Penybenglog, Vairdre, Rhydygorse, and elsewhere, and in addition he had compiled valuable works himself. I like to picture him seated in his snug parlour before a glowing log fire during the winter evenings studying the descents of the *bonheddig* by mellow candle-light, while outside the wind howled through the gnarled oaks that stood like silent sentinels around the ancient house. I wonder how much of his time he gave to Mrs. Lewes!

A hundred years were to elapse before the manuscripts of Llwynderw found their final home. I shall now consider this interesting period in their history—the period, during which Mr. Owen so confidently tells us, they were "scattered far and wide."

We have seen that William Lewes' second wife was Elinor



daughter of Evan Pryce of Rhydybenne. After Lewes' death she remarried to William Lewis of Llanlâs, an intellectual man whose interests were concerned with religion and not with the affairs of this sinful world. Elinor had a brother called Edmund Pryce, an attorney-at-law, who practised at the Great Sessions, and who, like his late brother-in-law had been smitten by the pedigree-fever. To his hands came the great collection of William Lewes, and he housed it at his own home in Rhydybenne. Edmund had been born about 1692, and he lived until 25th June, 1774, when he passed away at the age of 82. His wife was Catherine Howell, daughter of the Revd. Rice Howell of nearby Maesgwynne, and by her he had an only child Walter Pryce, who died on 14th May, 1787, without surviving issue. Edmund Pryce wrote a very distinctive hand, which is not dissimilar to that of the copyist who made the Golden Grove books. He studied the books from Llwynderw with great care, and he made several additions to them, bringing the pedigrees down to about 1770. He also originated many pedigrees himself and was also a competent armorist. He made complete transcripts of some of Lewes' volumes and extended the pedigrees, besides making an occasional correction in the originals. Like the previous owner of the manuscripts, Edmund Pryce was ready to help his friends and neighbours in genealogical and heraldic matters. On 14th August, 1765, John Lewis of Llanerchayron wrote to him asking for the arms of the Lewis' of Killie, Llanerchayron, and Vairdre, and from his statement—"I shall readily give you any gratuity you think proper"—it would appear that Edmund improved his finances by his genealogical and heraldic pursuits. During this period several others interested in genealogy consulted the collection, such as John Laugharne of Laugharne, John Lloyd, and others whose annotations are to be seen in the volumes. During this time there is evidence that some of the manuscripts were loaned, or perhaps given, to others. One, written by William Lewes, went to Jones Lewis of Gilvach, a competent genealogist, and this volume by an interesting coincidence has also arrived in the College of Arms and is now in the Gilvach collection there. (The Gilvach pedigrees were principally copied in 1830 from a manuscript copy in the possession of a Mr. Lloyd Llewelyn of Carmarthen, which copy had been written by one Morgan Lewis in 1696. A study of these pedigrees leads me to the conclusion that Morgan Lewis' work was based on some of the originals of David Edwardes.) A few others, in the hand of David Edwardes, went to Dolwilym, the home of the Protheroe family, but whether they went there via Llwynderw, or via Rhydybenne, or indeed directly from Rhydygorse, I am unable to say. There were also at Dolwilym several transcripts of Edwardes' pedigrees written in an unknown hand, and these also are now in the College of Arms.

It was during the Rhydybenne period that the copy was made, later to become known as the Golden Grove books. It is a faithful

copy of the books of William Lewes, and several of the trees have been brought down to about 1765, which was about the time that the copy was made. Since it contains entries in the hand of Edmund Pryce it is clear that he gave assistance to the transcriber as well as facilities to carry out his great task. On the first page of the first volume of the Golden Grove books occurs the entry "Carm[ar]then 20th July 1765. E.E.", and on this, Yeatman and Owen theorized as to the identity of the transcriber. At the moment all we can say is that we do not know who this transcriber was. It is said to have been copied for John Vaughan of Golden Grove, but on what authority is unknown to me. It was certainly used by Theophilus Jones who made additions to it. It came into the possession of the Earl Cawdor, and in 1828 it was kept by R. B. Williams, Esq., at Llandilo. It should be observed that the Golden Grove books contain only a part of the fifty-one volumes that make up the collection, and a great deal of important genealogical material has been omitted. Several of William Lewes' pedigrees were written in Welsh and Latin, especially when he indulged in a little scandal, much of which makes lively reading. Other material that has been omitted includes the many *englynion*, the Latin verses on the siege of Carmarthen in 1130, and material relating to the acquisition and devolution of property in West Wales.

Before his death in 1774, Edmund Pryce gave the collection to his relation and neighbour, David Lloyd of Alltyrolyn, who had married as his second wife Justinia, daughter of John Pryce of Blaendyffryn, younger brother of the said Edmund. The manuscripts were kept safely at Alltyrolyn, and there is no evidence that they were annotated or in any other wise added to during their stay at that pleasant Cardiganshire country house. On the death of David Lloyd they came to his son and heir, also named David Lloyd, whose first wife was Elizabeth daughter of Herbert Evans of Highmead, a man with keen genealogical interests. In 1804, Richard Fenton saw the manuscripts, when on 14th May of that year he called at the house—"Mr Lloyd of Allt yr Odin received me very civilly, shewed me several fragments, and Books of his genealogical Collection relating to Pembrokeshire, which he has kindly promised me the use of. . . ." (*Tours in Wales*, p. 8). A writer in 1815 considered the library sufficiently interesting to be mentioned, and wrote: "The Allt yr Olyn Library may be mentioned here, as containing some curious ancient Welsh manuscripts, chiefly valuable however as genealogical documents. The worthy proprietor has always with a laudable liberality, thrown them open to the inspection of such persons as wished to peruse them, and were likely to benefit either themselves or the public by an examination of their contents." (T. Rees, *Beauties of South Wales*, 1815, p. 499). They were destined to remain at Alltyrolyn until 1822, when a new figure makes his entrance upon the stage. This was a young man called Edward Protheroe.

According to a pedigree in the hand of Edward Protheroe, he was the son of Edward Protheroe, senior, who was the son of Phillip Protheroe, a descendant of the Protheroes of Molleston, Pembrokeshire, said to have been kinsfolk of Protheroe of Egremont and Dolwilym, and descendants of the mighty Cadifor Fawr. The grandfather, Phillip Protheroe, had prospered in Bristol, and when he died in 1803 he was a well-to-do merchant and owner of a country house, Over Court in Gloucestershire. His son Edward, born in 1774, was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, and carried on the family business at Bristol, and later represented that city in parliament. By his wife Anne Waterhouse, of Wellhead, Yorkshire, whom he married on 10th October, 1796, he had an only son, Edward, born on 10th August, 1798. Edward Protheroe junior was educated at his father's old college and became an M.P. first for Evesham, later for Bristol, and finally for Halifax. He was a commissioner of Public Records, a J.P. and D.L. for Gloucestershire, and a D.L. for the city of Bristol.

Young Edward devoted much attention to his family history. In point of fact he was much better descended than he knew or ever discovered. He decided to conduct inquiries in West Wales, and it was not long before he heard of the genealogical treasures of Alltyrolyn. In 1819 he wrote from Christ College to David Lloyd to ask whether the manuscripts contained any references to the Protheroes of Dolwilym. On 5th November of that year David Lloyd answered that he had discovered something about the former possessors of Dolwilym in the "Book of the descendants of Cadifor = Vawr," and added: "The Pedigree Books, of which, I am at present the Owner, belonged once to Mr. William Lewes of Llwynderw, Llangeler Parish, Carmarthen Shire, who gave them to an old relation of mine, from whom I had them; I have great Confidence in the authenticity of these manuscripts as the first possessor of them was a very eminent Antiquarian, and rendered great Service to Cambden in Collecting materials for his Britannia, and received the grateful acknowledgment of that learned Man." This shows that David Lloyd had not only appreciated their value, but also knew something about their origin.

Soon after this, Edward Protheroe appeared in person in West Wales in pursuit of his ancestors, and he was well received in the country-houses. After he had seen the manuscripts at Alltyrolyn, Dolwilym, and Rhydygorse, another idea entered his head. He would buy the lot. Being well blessed with the things of this world, he felt quite confident about the financial aspect of his intended purchase. And where he could not buy he would transcribe. Fortunately his own account of the "Protheroe MSS." as they are now called has survived, and we are enabled to see what went on.

Edward Protheroe kept a close watch on Mr. David Lloyd of Alltyrolyn, who was aged and in declining health. Other people,



including relatives, had also their eyes on the manuscripts, but either through being too easy-going in the matter, or considering the probable price as being too high, they "missed the boat." On 21st May, 1822, David Lloyd of Alltyrodyn crossed the bourne whence no traveller returns. Protheroe swooped like a hawk, and on 11th June he was able to inform his kinsman, Evan Protheroe of Narberth, that he had acquired the manuscripts, having bought them privately from John Lloyd, the son and heir of the deceased. When the contents of the library of Alltyrodyn were sold by auction in July, 1822, there were no manuscripts included. Protheroe had the lot. Indeed, as late as 1825, Major Herbert Evans of Highmead, a neighbour and kinsman of Alltyrodyn and a genealogist, was unaware of the private sale to Protheroe, and it was only in the September of that year that he discovered what had occurred.

Protheroe did not rest after this victory. He had seen several manuscripts belonging to David Edwardes and others at Dolwilym, and so engaging was his manner that Mrs. Protheroe of Dolwilym actually made him a present of them. Among these he found sections of manuscripts which had originally formed part of the Alltyrodyn volumes, and he was now able to place them together again. At Llysnewydd he had seen a collection of West Wales pedigrees, but he was not very anxious to acquire these since they were but copies of the originals now safely in his possession. However, he says: "Another copy of part of the same work I sold for the Rev. Samuel Fenton son of the late Mr. Fenton to W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth Esq in 1827." Is this Peniarth MS. 156 now in the National Library? He had also seen one volume of Cardiganshire pedigrees with Mr. Lloyd of Mabus, but as this again was only a copy he was not excited about it. He was disappointed in his visit to Rhydygorse, for all that remained there were a small volume of pedigrees of Edwardes, pedigrees of the families of Saunders and Davies of Cwm, and Protheroe of Hawksbrook—all being copies of the originals and in the hand of the old squire of Llwynderw. Some of these Protheroe transcribed. He states that none of the originals of Edwardes' works remained at Rhydygorse, but adds: "There is some tradition in the Family of a splendid set of MSS. written on vellum and embellished with paintings of arms, having been in the possession of Mrs Edwardes. But I have inquired in vain for those MSS. of those who were best informed of her property." He ran some of Edwardes' manuscripts to earth at Llantilio Crossenny, Monmouthshire, in the possession of Mrs. Taddy (whose grandfather had married as his second wife the widow of David Edwardes),<sup>1</sup> but he did not acquire them, and notes the fact that they were still in Mrs. Taddy's hands in 1844. This young genealogical bloodhound also found that there was a collection of genealogical manuscripts at Mr. Turberville's at Ewenny, but failed to add them to his collection.

<sup>1</sup> A relation of the Rhyd-y-gors family.

Having become the owner of the manuscripts, Edward Protheroe set about examining them. He had occasion to repair several (which he often did very clumsily), and states: "When I bought them they were stitched together in a way that only ensured their gradual destruction. Although they had been treated with such neglect, they were regarded as documents of great authenticity and have been appealed to in the decision of cases of descent." Indeed some of them—which have passed through my hands—were in a very sorry state, and defied his efforts to preserve and even to arrange them. His efforts to reconstruct the history of the manuscripts, and to establish the identity of the many hands that appear in them, are sound and interesting bits of research. However, he was completely foxed by the volumes written by George Owen and George William Griffith, which form an extremely important section—indeed the basic section—and he dubs them "unknown." He also made a mistake in describing one, written by George William Griffith in 1642, as "Mr Edwardes' Pembroke-shire Book." He had noticed the hand of Edmund Pryce of Rhydybenne and had appreciated the valuable work made by that man. However, owing to the fact that the writing of Edwardes himself, Edmund Pryce, John Laugharne, and the copyist of the Golden Grove books, are so alike, he sometimes failed to draw correct conclusions. Despite all this, Protheroe's work was meritorious.

From 1822 to 1825 he spent many hours on the collection in his Hampstead house, and arranged and numbered the manuscripts with much success. On 25th July, 1825, he took his quill in hand and wrote with a flourish: "Ended arranging the Altyrodin MSS—Hurrah!" He fully realized their value, and in 1828, with commendable spirit he decided to offer them to a body of competent people who could use them with both pleasure and profit, and at the same time ensure their preservation. He approached the College of Arms, and on 1st May, 1828, the Chapter agreed to accept his offer and to pay him £225, which was the sum he asked for the collection. Thus the College of Arms became possessed of the most important, the most exhaustive, and most authoritative corpus of Welsh genealogical manuscripts. It is perhaps a form of poetic justice that this collection, the bulk of which was the work of a deputy herald, should come finally to rest beneath the roofteree of the college that he had represented with such distinction in his native Wales.